



**EDUCATION AND CHANGING LIFE STYLES:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HINDU AND  
MUSLIM FAMILIES OF ALIGARH**

**DISSERTATION**

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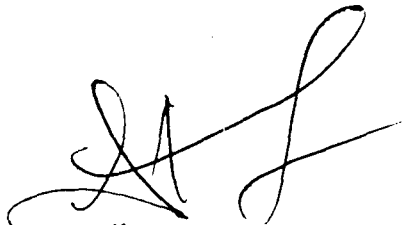
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C E R T I F I C A T E  
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This is to certify that Miss Sameena has worked for her M.Phil. dissertation entitled, "Education and Changing Life Styles : A Comparative Study of Hindu and Muslim Families of Aligarh", under my supervision.

The work incorporates original data and I deem it suitable for submission for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

Dated : 13.8.97

  
(Dr. Shadbano Ahmad)  
Reader

*Dedicated To  
My  
Ammi Papa*



THE WOODS ARE LOVELY DARK AND DEEP  
BUT I HAVE PROMISES TO KEEP  
AND MILES TO GO BEFORE I SLEEP  
AND MILES TO GO BEFORE I SLEEP

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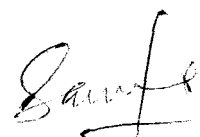
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(SAMEENA)

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

A N D

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Every society has its own social, economic and cultural heritage based on certain fundamental principles which regulate and govern the attitudes and behaviour patterns of its members. Attitudes and behaviour patterns are not rigid; rather they are subject to change depending upon the demands of the changing society. The process of transition, specially in a developing society like India, always faces elements of resistance because of the deep rooted socio-cultural values of its people and are not easily amenable to change. It is the educational process through which changes in society are sought for by moulding the established attitudes and behaviour patterns of the people.

Indian society as a whole is witnessing a transition from tradition to modernity. On the one hand, there is impact of modernity which includes urban culture, modern education, industrialization, political consciousness influencing the attitudes, patterns of behaviour, expectation and value orientation of the individuals. On the other hand, individuals are not getting relieved of the traditional forces of the community completely.

In a changing society, it is required to enquire into the role that education plays in the introduction of change with the growing impact of knowledge and scientific development. The developing countries are making efforts to

change their life styles in order to adjust to the newer demands of modern living. Education plays an important role in affecting the life styles of individuals and families.

The study of life styles is an important landmark in sociology. As early as the turn of the twentieth century, it was Max Weber who considered life styles to be important aspects of social hierarchy. Unlike Marx, he introduced the idea of 'status' group associated with honour and expressed through specific life styles. For Weber, life styles included quality of education, type of occupation, patterns of culture, and style of consumption and the like. These 'honorific preferences' culminated in what he identified as status group. 'Honorific preferences' and status were considered to go hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities in a manner which came to be known as 'typical'. Besides the specific status honour which always rests upon distance and exclusiveness we find all sorts of material monopolies. Such honorific preferences may consist of the privilege of wearing special costumes, eating special 'unusual' dishes normally not eaten by the man on the street, taboo to others, carrying arms which were most obvious in its consequences - the right to pursue certain non-professional dilettante artistic practices e.g., to play certain musical instruments.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Gerth, H.H, and C. Wright Mills (eds) (1967), From Max Weber - Essays in Sociology, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. pp. 190-191.



For Weber, status group, refers to an exclusive group of people who share common styles of life. The basis of Weber's distinction between class and status is prestige accorded to certain styles of life like clothing, family background, education, occupation, speech style and the like. Life style denotes acquisition of particular type of education, clothing, mannerisms, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise Veblen, an American sociologist, in his 'The Theory of the Leisure Class' associated particular life styles with different classes of people and emphasised life style of what he called the Leisure class. He identified a group of individuals who spent their time in unproductive work, i.e., time is consumed non-productively from the sense of unworthiness of productive work and as an evidence of their being in a position to afford a life of idleness.<sup>3</sup>

He, further, stated that conspicuous abstention from labour became the conventional index of reputability. Abstention from labour was not a meritorious act but it was considered to be a requisite of decency. Abstention from labour was evidence of wealth and was, therefore, a mark of social standing. 'Leisure' in the narrow sense did not

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2. Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills, Ibid., pp. 186-195.

3. Veblen, Thorstein (1931) 'The Theory of The Leisure Class' in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds) Class, Status and Power - Social Stratification in Comparative Perspective, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., pp. 36-42.

leave a material product but immaterial goods. Such immaterial evidence of leisure, for example "the knowledge of dead language (Latin) and the occult science, of correct spelling of syntax and prosody, of the various forms of domestic music and other household art, of latest properties of dress, furniture and equipage, games, sports and fancy-bred animals such as dogs and race horses". There were other symbols of leisure, namely, manners and breeding, polite usage, decorum and formal and ceremonial observances.<sup>4</sup>

On the Indian scene, Srinivas in an attempt to understand the process of social change highlighted the fact that low caste imitated the life style of upper castes including rituals, beliefs, ideology, manners etc.

Srinivas used the term 'Sanskritization' to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of India. In his study of the Coorgs in Mysore he found that lower castes in order to raise their position in the caste hierarchy adopted some customs of Brahmins and gave up some of their own rituals which were considered to be impure by the higher castes. For instance, they gave up meat eating, consumption of liquor and animal sacrifice and imitated the life styles of the upper castes in matters of dress, food and rituals. By doing this within a generation or so they would claim

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4. Veblen, Thorstein - Ibid, pp. 36-42.

higher position in the caste hierarchy. To denote this process of mobility Srinivas defined Sanskritization, as 'a process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in direction of a high, frequently, "twice born caste".<sup>5</sup>

Srinivas also used the term 'Westernization' to characterise 'the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels of science, technology, institutions, ideology and values.<sup>6</sup> The form and pace of westernization in India too varied from one region to another and from one section of population to another. For instance, one group of people became westernized in their dress, diet, manners, speech, sports and in the gadgets they used, while another absorbed western science, knowledge and literature remaining relatively free from westernization in external aspects.<sup>7</sup> The western ideas/ideology of humanitarianism, democracy, secularism, rationalism and egalitarianism also began to take roots.

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5. Srinivas, M.N. (1966), Social Change in Modern India, Los Angeles, California, p. 6.

6. Srinivas, M.N. (1962), 'A note on Sanskritization and Westernization', in Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, pp. 42-62.

7. Srinivas, M.N. - Ibid, pp. 50-51.

Such changes as described above are observable in most of the developing societies - India is no exception. Conformity and change are universal but we must distinguish between 'change of the system' and 'change in the system'. The process of westernization in India may be seen as change in the system. The material changes were far more easily observable than the non-material changes and were manifested through changes in the life style of dressing, speech, the setting of the home, the type of food preferred and the occupation pursued. Education was also an important aspect of westernization. In fact, 'western' scientific education became the order of the day.

It has been observed that education and change in society are linked, one buttressing the other. It is perhaps for this reason that much significance has been attached to education as a potent force of change. Education is considered to be a powerful agent which can liberate people from the fetters of tradition. It helps the process of change by weakening or breaking the resistance to change.

Education helps to wean the developing society away from the old style of life and to move towards the new. It inspires belief in progress, in efficiency, in achievement and in rationality. It also helps people to become aware of their social and legal rights and become active participant

in the process of economic development and social change.<sup>8</sup>  
 In a democratic society, education can prepare the path for change and this is its creative function.<sup>9</sup>

While education is, on one hand, one of the potent factors most likely to influence and modify one's attitudes and behaviour. On the other hand, it is one of the stronger and stabler determinant of a person's behaviour and life style.

Thus, education plays an important role in influencing attitudes and behaviour patterns of people and consequently bring about changes in their life styles. On the other hand, socio-economic class and cultural background also play a vital role in determining the future course of action.

The efficacy of education as an instrument of social change, depends on its orientation and content as well as on those who impart and receive it.<sup>10</sup> In a country whose traditions extend to thousand of years in the past and control the behaviour of masses, it is difficult to

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8. Banks, Olive(1969),The Sociology of Education, London, B.T. Batsfold Ltd., p. 207.

9. Ottaway, A.K.C. (1962), Education and Society, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., p. 12.

10. Dube, S.C. (1976), 'Modernisation and Education' in S.K. Srivastava (ed) Tradition and Modernisation, Allahabad, Indian International Publications, p. 105.

change attitudes and values of the masses in a short period of time.

India is a country of vast cultural variety where people of different faith and religions, regions, linguistic and socio-economic background live together and are governed by their own set of norms and values. Nonetheless, education is not alien to the Indian culture, be it the Hindu or Muslim culture. The Hindu and Muslim religious scriptures amply emphasise the importance of education.

The ancient Hindu scriptures reflect the ideals of education and suggest that in the stages of life of an individual education must occupy a very important role.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, Immense importance has been given in Islam to the acquisition and extension of knowledge. The Quran is replete with instructions for acquiring knowledge (Ilm).

Importance of education is aptly described by Prophet Mohammed in the following words :

"Acquire knowledge because he who acquires it in the way of Lord performs an act of piety, who speaks of it praises the Lord, who seeks it adores God, who dispenses

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11. Gupta, Padma and Giriraj Gupta (1975), 'Education and Social Change in India' in Indian Horizons, Vol. 24, No. 4, p. 57.

instruction in it bestows aims, and who imparts it its fitting objects performs an act of devotion to God.....<sup>12</sup>

'Traditional' education both among Hindus and Muslims in India was mostly religious and literary in character and less influenced by science and scientific experimentation. It was largely based on ancient religious philosophies written in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian etc.<sup>13</sup>

In India, modern secular education was introduced during the British rule and various changes in traditional pattern of Indian life styles became somewhat visible. The traditional education imparted through 'pathshala', 'madarsa' and 'maktab' slowly began to take a backseat. But these changes were not uniform in Indian society and the process of change was slow because of the ingrained dogmas and superstitions which are often recognized as obstacles to progress. Other factors, too, had a negative role to play and among these the political and socio-economic factors took the lead.

For instance, the changes in the power structure during the 19th century left the Muslim elite out of political power and prestige. This was a major setback for

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12. Educational Survey Report on Muslim Managed Schools and Colleges in India, Shah S. Shamim, Hamdard Education Society, Hamdard Nagar, New Delhi 1982-83, p. 151.

13. Gupta Padma and Giriraj Gupta, op.cit., p. 58.

their economic status. The Muslims were not inclined towards 'western' education as the 'Ulema' felt that such education would be counter-productive for their religious belief.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, the traditional caste hierarchy gave way to changes and it was the higher castes that first took advantages of westernization and thus were the first to enter the new educational and subsequently administrative system.

The high castes such as the Brahmins, Vaishya and Kshtriya with their tradition of literacy were in a more advantageous position to exploit the new opportunities than those who did not hail from such a background. Members from the former privileged castes became doctors, lawyers, clerks, school masters and officers in government.<sup>15</sup> The lower castes suffered caste discrimination and were unable to join the upper castes in pursuing western education.

The Muslims lagged behind their Hindu counterparts because of their confinement to pursue education in the traditional 'maktab' and 'madarsa' and rejected the western secular education. This aversion towards English and

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14. Mondal, Sekh Rahim (1988), Tradition Vs Modernity in Muslim Society (An analysis of social movement among Muslim in India)', Islam and the Modern Age, Vol. 21 No. 3, August, p. 187.

15. Srinivas, M.N., Caste in Modern India and Other Essays, op.cit., p. 18.



Western education is considered largely due to the rigidity and orthodoxy of the religious beliefs and a feeling that the English education which Britishers had brought will certainly imperil their religion.<sup>16</sup> Further, the new system of education was available in selected towns. Hence, the majority of the Muslims were not mobile and nor did they have the economic means to send their children to different places for education. Thus they had access only to the 'maktab' and the 'madarsa'.

Another important factor in turning the people against the British rule was their fear that it endangered their religion. This fear was largely due to the activities of the Christian missionaries who tried to convert people to Christianity.<sup>17</sup>

Even under these circumstances Hindus benefitted from the few facilities of western education which were available while the Muslims did not (or perhaps could not). Hindus acquired the knowledge of English language, so they were easily employed in Mercantile houses as well as in administrative services. Muslims lagged behind their counterparts because of their failure to compete with the Hindus.<sup>18</sup>

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16. Mondal, Sekh, Rahim, op.cit., pp. 187-88.

17. Chandra, Bipan (1994), Modern India, New Delhi, NCERT, p. 106.

18. Mondal, Rahim, Sekh, op. cit. pp. 187-88.

The Hindus had also shown considerable mobility during the British rule due to the influence of the social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy who was one of the earliest propagators of modern education. He considered education as a major instrument in the spread of modern ideas in the country. He supported David Hare in promoting modern education in this country and founded the famous Hindu college.<sup>19</sup>

Ram Mohan Roy's conviction for modern higher education combined with his love for traditional philosophic system need not be elaborated here. What is important is his quest for the rational and scientific approach to life and the emphasis on the principles of human dignity and social equality of all men and women.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps his secular approach to religion was not palatable to the Hindu orthodoxy and so he was condemned.

Other social reformers like Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, Gopal Krishna Gokhle were also deeply interested in the promotion of education for both the sexes.<sup>21</sup>

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19. Chandra, Bipan, Op.cit., p. 96.

20. Chandra Bipan, Op.cit., p. 94.

21. Sharma, R.K. (1981), Nationalism, Social reform, and Indian Women, Patna : New Delhi, Janaki Prakashan, p. 27.

On the other hand, movements for educational reform among Muslims were slow to appear. The nineteenth century Muslim leadership realised the inadequacy of the Muslim masses to meet the new cultural forces which had gripped the country. The inadequacy of the 'madarsa' system did not go unheeded and a small section felt the need for modern education.<sup>22</sup>

A beginning in this direction was made when the Mohammeden Literary Society was founded in 1863. This society promoted discussions on religious, social and political questions in the light of modern ideas and encouraged upper and middle class Muslims to take to western education.<sup>23</sup>

The most important reformer among the Muslims, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, was tremendously impressed by modern scientific thought and worked all his life to reconcile it with Islam.<sup>24</sup> Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's aim was to remove the backwardness of the Muslim masses through social reform by spreading western education among them without weakening their faith in Islam.<sup>25</sup>

Syed Ahmad considered secular and scientific education to be sole means of social refinement. The Ulema

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22. Mondal, Sekh, Rahim. Op.cit., p. 190.

23. Chandra, Bipan, Op.cit., p. 176.

24. Chandra, Bipan, op.cit., p. 176.

25. Mondal, Sekh, Rahim, op.cit., p. 191.

were struggling to preserve the legacy of medieval Islam. In an attempt to protect their traditional Muslim culture they shunned all contact with western thought and science. Syed Ahmad, on the other hand, was the champion of new ideas. He opposed blind adherence to old traditions and found fault with many of the customs and practices in contemporary Muslim society.<sup>26</sup>

It was for this reason that he was opposed so badly by the so called Muslim religious elite and the traditionalists who doubted his faith in Islam.

Syed Ahmad Khan's faith in Islam was firm and unshakeable. He, therefore, never doubted the fundamentals of his faith nor did he ever raise a question regarding its validity. In his view, Islam, being a natural faith could not be weakened in any way by acquiring scientific knowledge. He was convinced that what would be wiped out by scientific knowledge would be the false beliefs and customs that were superimposed upon Islam and that the true spirit of Islam would remain intact.<sup>27</sup>

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26. Zobairi, R.H. (1983), Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's interpretation of Muslim Society and his reform movement in the Indian Context', Islamic Culture, Vol. 7, No. 3, July, p. 172.

27. Akhtar, Syed Waheed (1989), Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Approach to Religion', Aligarh Journal of Islamic Thought, No. 2, p. 77.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and other members of Muslims intelligentsia tried to do for the Muslim community what Hindu reformers had already begun to do for theirs, with one important difference. While Muslim emphasis was directed at emancipating men from their traditional and confining dogmas, the main thrust of Hindu reform movements had been directed at women.<sup>28</sup> This difference notwithstanding, Syed Ahmad Khan's major contribution was the establishment of the Muhammedan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh in 1857. This college later grew into the Aligarh Muslim University.<sup>29</sup>

The Muslim reform movements, like the parallel movements among the Hindus, were movements within the Muslim community. Reforms lagged behind partly because modern education entered the Muslim community much later. A progressive movement to improve women's educational opportunities began to develop in the last years of nineteenth century under the leadership of few individuals like Shaikh Abdullah and his wife at Aligarh and Karamat Husain in Lucknow.

The advocates of women's education were convinced that it was the key to advancement of the Muslim community

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28. Lateef, Shahida (1983), 'Modernisation in India and the Status of Muslim Women' in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed) Modernisation and Social Change among Muslims in India, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, p. 158.

29. Chandra, Bipan, Op.cit., p. 176.

in India. Women's education would hold the dislocation in Muslim family life caused by the disparities in educational levels between husbands and wives.

The advocates of women's education, for gaining social acceptance for girl's school emphasised the usefulness of school education in preparing girls for their traditional role. These social reformers took care to assure the parents that their daughters were protected and would perform their traditional roles better after they received modern education.

The growth of women's journals and women's associations, the increased public discussion of purdah and the interpretation of Islamic law in ways favourable to greater freedom and rights for women were only a few of the social developments indirectly related to the movement for women's education among Indian Muslims.

These movements among Hindus and Muslims slowly paved the way for the masses to move towards education and the tradition for higher education was established. However, despite these movements a majority of the Muslims did not participate in western education. Only a very small percentage of Muslims came forward and educated their children in Missionary English Schools. Thus they remained educationally and economically backward. As a result, their educational status is now far below as compared to other

communities in the country. Most of the scholars argued that the Muslim community as a whole lagged behind the Hindu community. They have also highlighted various reasons for their backwardness.

W.W. Hunter in his report indicated that the percentage of Muslim students receiving modern education was far below the percentage of Muslims in the total population of the various provinces. The reasons given by him were that Mohammedan parents mostly preferred first to impart religious education to their children. The years which young Hindu gave to English and Mathematics, in a public school, the young Mohammedan devoted in 'madarsa' to learn Arabic, law and theology of Islam. The Muslim children, therefore, entered school later than Hindus and left the school at an early age because they found it difficult to meet the financial expenses.<sup>30</sup>

Some drastic measures adopted by British government like alienation from administration, economic measures, language policy and distortion of history have been reported to be responsible for gradual backwardness of Muslims by M.K.A. Siddiqui (1984).<sup>31</sup>

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30. Hunter, W.W. (1945), The Indian Musalmans, Indological Book House, pp. 149-177.

31. Siddiqui, M.K.A. (1984), Educating a Backward Community Calcutta, Abadi Publications, p. 1.

S.K. Ghosh (1987) holds that reluctance of Muslims to study English made them educationally backward. Greatly distressed by the backward state of Muslims, the Muslim leaders fell into the trap of the British policy of 'Divide and Rule' and they with a view to secure more benefits for the community worked for separate Muslim identity.<sup>32</sup> Such a view is not supported by other scholars like Paul Brass (1975)<sup>33</sup>, Anil Seal (1968)<sup>34</sup>, Madhvi Yasin (1981)<sup>35</sup> who reject the view that Muslims were backward throughout the country. The studies of these scholars revealed that even at the turn of century in many areas governed by the British literacy and school enrolment among Muslims were comparable to, if not higher than that, among the Hindus. It was only in those areas where the Muslim population was mainly agrarian and poor that they also lagged behind considerably in education (Kamat 1985)<sup>36</sup>. These studies point out the various factors

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32. Ghosh, S.K. (1987), Muslim Politics in India, New Delhi, Ashish Publication, p. 1.

33. Brass, Paul (1975), Language, Religion and Politics in North India, Delhi, Vikas Publishers, p.

34. Seal, Anil (1968), The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Late 19th Century, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.

35. Yasin, Madhvi (1981), 'Muslim Educational Backwardness: A Fallacy Exploded' in Studies in Islam, Vol. 18, No. 1-2, Jan.-April, p.

36. Kamat, A.R. (1985), Education and Social Change in India, Bombay, Somaiya Publication.



which have been responsible for the backwardness of Muslims. As a result they lagged behind their Hindu counterparts.

But this should also be realised that gradually, specially after independence, considerable changes have taken place among Muslims. The growing literacy rate as well as the growing consciousness for higher education in India are perhaps indicative of changes in the various aspects of life and life styles of individuals and families. Muslims are no exception to this general trend. They are now more conscious for higher education than they were in the past. Industrialization and urbanization have created new roles and opened up new vistas for occupational choice, spatial mobility and migration encouraging change in life styles. Higher educational attainment, changes in economic and occupational structure of family, urban residence brought about significant changes in their life styles. Education and employment increased the status of Muslim women. In spite of traditionally ascribed subordinate position of Muslim women they are now participating in economic, political and cultural activities and move quite freely outside home that was not allowed for them earlier. Changes were also observed among Muslims in their dress styles, food habits, marriage patterns, religious observance, patterns of consumptions etc. Given the similar educational and economic background the Hindus and Muslims

exhibited quite similar life styles. Moreover, the Hindus and Muslims in India also adopted many customs, rituals and patterns of behaviour from one another.

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A survey of literature at this juncture would reveal the changes in the life styles of people as a result of various factors and consequent variations that are evident in Indian society. Much of the available literature had little direct bearing on the topic of research but is important because of its indirect association.

As early as in 1953 Cormack's study indicated a strict adherence to some of the traditional roles and values among western educated Hindu women of urban upper and middle class background. Her study examined the persistence of tradition and change among Indian women. The women under study were undergraduate students of the Columbia University coming from educated, urban middle and upper class background, representing various geographical areas. Most of the women were Hindus, but the group included one woman each from the Muslim, Sikh and Christian communities. The study sought to discover how Indian girls internalised the traditional feminine role in a western setting. It was found that Hindu women, by and large, were tradition oriented and accepted social customs and values

that are widely accepted by the Indian society. Traditions of Hinduism were deep rooted and since no culture makes a total break with the past, tradition continued to play a vigorous role in cultural change. Hindu women while responding to society's changing needs continued selectively to adhere to their traditional roles and value system. Cormack, however, did not specifically elaborate the changes which may or may not have taken place in the case of Sikh, Muslim and Christian women.<sup>37</sup>

Ross's study (1961), while examining the effects of industrial and technological change on the traditional middle and upper class Hindu families, revealed that as a result of industrialization and urbanization, the large joint family had given way to smaller units - nuclear families. The main observable changes were in respect of role structure and role relationships, authority patterns, marriage patterns and educational and occupational opportunities.

The study examined the rise in new educational and occupational opportunities and changes in the traditional power and authority structure. There was a clear indication of the erosion of unitary male authority and the greater independence acquired by the children. While the control of elders was slow to disappear, there was a definite

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37. Cormack, Margaret, L. (1953), The Hindu Women, Columbia, Columbia University Press.

equalization of father's authority with that of the mother and greater independence of children from parental control.

Ross pointed out that in the urban nuclear families the division of labour tended to break down with the wives working outside home to supplement family income, and husbands helping them or substituting for them in doing household duties. The clear-cut gender differentiation was found on its way out.

It was also found that most of the parents were anxious about their son's education. In the nuclear family set up greater emphasis on girl's education was observed in contrast to joint families where girl's marriage was given much more importance than education. However, most of the parents stressed the type of education which would fit their daughters for marriage than career.

Some changes regarding marriage patterns were also observed, particularly the rise in age at marriage and a changing trend of personal choice in mate selection. The study concluded that the members of the family changed their ways of life in varied degrees, with change in family structure. Some patterns of behaviour had been resisted.<sup>38</sup>

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38. Ross, Allen D. (1961), The Hindu Family in its Urban Setting, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

Ginzberg's et al. (1966) study is concerned with various life styles of educated women. In this study life style refers to that orientation to self, others and society that each individual develops and follows i.e. his value orientation. Four types of life styles were identified. Individualistic - including women who want to direct themselves rather than direct others or be directed by them; Influential type - included women who wanted to make an impact and have their ideas and values influence others; supportive type - included women whose basic orientation was to help others and be of service to others; communal type - were women who directed their time and energy towards improving some parts of community.

The study showed that the educated women did not lead constricted and discontented lives, but had a multiplicity of options that permitted them to be in a highly advantageous position to realise whatever goals they wished to set for themselves. Liberal politics and deepening of democratic values broadened options and opportunities for women to prepare for and enter many desirable occupational fields which provided good income and considerable social prestige. The study concluded that a small percentage of women were concerned with directing and influencing others while most of them placed a high value on self determination and autonomy. They wanted to lead the type of lives that they had discovered best suited

their needs. Expecting a high degree of freedom and self-determination for themselves, they adopted the same attitudes and values towards other women.

The scope for girls to determine the type of lives they would lead in adulthood were found to have broadened in comparison with conditions that existed a few generation ago. An increasing number of girls realised that pursuing higher education would facilitate to work even after they had children. Nevertheless, the educated women's scope for self determination was broad but elements of dependency was still present. Her plans often hinge on the plans and needs of her husband and family which took precedence in her life and the status of married woman remained a derived one.<sup>39</sup>

M.S. Gore's study (1968) dealt with the impact of industrialization and urbanization on Hindu families in and around Delhi. The study examined the changes in the institution of family and analysed the characteristic differences between the joint and nuclear households.

The results of study showed that more respondents from nuclear families preferred nuclear family than respondents from joint families and parents took decisions about their children much more often in nuclear than joint families. The nuclear family women did not go out with

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39. Ginzberg, Eli (et.al.) (1966), Life Styles of Educated Women, Columbia University Press.

their husbands or eat their meals with them any more than the joint family women. Women from both the joint and nuclear household observed purdah and showed deference to older men but the observance of this custom, in nuclear families, was limited to the visit of elder males.

The study found a direct relationship between educational level and marriage patterns. The higher the level of education, the lower was the proportion of respondents opposed to inter-caste marriages. Fewer urban respondents and male respondents were opposed to inter-caste marriages than non-urban and women respectively. The urban respondents, the more educated and women respondents tended to suggest higher ages of marriage. Moreover, urban residence and higher educational level were found to be important influences in determining the responses in favour of remarriage. Men were found more likely to be in favour of widow-remarriage than women.

The study indicated the persistence of joint family living pattern in behaviour, role perception and attitudes as well as greater influence of urban residence and education in introducing certain measures of variations within this overall pattern.<sup>40</sup>

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40. Gore, M.S. (1968), Urbanization and Family Change, Bombay, Popular Prakashan.

Hate's study (1969) is an attempt to assess the magnitude as well as direction of change in the status of women after independence. Changes in the rate of female infant mortality, women's education and employment, age at marriage, legal and political privileges and their activities in various other fields were examined. The study found that women's status has undoubtedly changed but not fully. Though, in principle, they have been given the status of equality yet in day to day life, they were not found equal to men specially in the lower middle and lower social strata. The crucial factors that appeared to be responsible for bringing about changes were education, gainful employment or economic independence, legal political rights and privileges.<sup>41</sup>

Mehta's study (1970) examined the impact of western education on elite Hindu women in order to identify the factors on which its impact was felt. It also attempted to find whether the changes in the way of life of these women were superficial imitation of western ways or whether they had really assimilated western thought and ways of life.

The study indicated that western education had resulted in lessening their faith in traditional institutions (such as caste and Hindu religious

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41. Hate, C.A. (1969), Changing Status of Women in Post Independence India, Bombay, Allied Publishers.



obligations) and in superficially imitating the western ways of living and behaving, their leisure time activities and interest. For instance, the western educated Hindu woman was found to have shifted from her patterns of spending money. Money once spent on pilgrims, now, found to spend in beautifying the home with art objects, cultivating the garden and other such expenses. Personal enrichment, for these women, through travel and secular entertainment was also evident through the study. However, the study pointed out that western education had not changed their value system and had not led to the assimilation of the western ways of thinking and feeling and some of the western attitudes like family obligations, male-female relations and sex freedom were particularly condemned. The main reason for the persistence of tradition and emergence of limited change among these women was attributed to their parent's traditional background and ways of life from which they had assimilated their values.<sup>42</sup>

Bhatty (1975) examined the pattern of social stratification of a Muslim village of U.P. to study the institutionalised closed differentiation in status and life styles of Ashraf and non-Ashraf woman. The study found that the life style of Ashraf women was characterised by

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42. Mehta, Rama (1970), The Western Educated Hindu Women, Bombay, Asia Publishing House.

confinement to home, subordination to male authority and no alternatives to the role of wife and mother. The persistent unacceptability of the birth of female child seemed to stem from the influence of Hindus who consider the girl child to be a liability. Non-Ashraf women, on the other hand, were freer as compared to Ashraf women. Their movements were less restricted and being equal partners in earning the daily bread, they had more opportunities for ascertaining themselves. Divorce, remarriage after divorce and marriage of widows occur more frequently among the non-Ashrafs than among the Ashrafs.

The greatest change in Ashraf attitudes towards women has come about in the matter of education, at least among families that can afford it for their daughters. However, in matters of marriage they are still treated differently from men. They were not encouraged to make their own choice of husbands or even to express their preferences and the majority of marriages took place within close relatives.

The study concluded that, on one hand, largely because of education and urbanization, Ashraf women were coming out of 'purdah' and seeking employment outside the home. On the other hand, upwardly mobile non-Ashraf families, for whom the traditional Ashraf function as reference model, were found withdrawing their women from

family work force regressing towards less egalitarian relation in family and putting them back into purdah. The non-Ashraf women were found to emulate the traditional pattern of Ashraf women who showed change in matters of dress styles, manners and language. The major influences for change operating on upper class Ashraf women were education and urbanization. In the lower class the influence was economic progress.<sup>43</sup>

Conklin (1976) conducted a survey of family and kinship practices in Dharwar, Karnataka and found much similarity in ideals and role patterns between Muslims and Hindus of a similar social status. Some differences were also observable in the intensity with which religion and its rituals were practised. For example, Muslims were found more likely to take fewer but more expensive pilgrimages than Hindus. It was interesting that both Muslim and Hindu urban dwellers had not undertaken pilgrimage in the past few years.

The findings of the study confirmed that family patterns are common among Indians given similar education and socio-economic attributes as the Muslim family practices, in Dharwar, were found quite similar to those of Hindus in everyday life. Thus, the study clearly indicated

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43. Bhatti, Zarina (1975), 'Muslim Women in Uttar Pradesh: Social Mobility and Direction of Change' in Alfred de Souza (ed) Women in Contemporary India and South Asia, New Delhi, Manohar Publications.

that education and urban influence influenced various aspects of life among Indians regardless of religious affiliation.<sup>44</sup>

Ahmad's study (1977) focussed on the relationship between education and the variations in the observance of purdah among urban middle class married Muslim women of Aligarh city. It was found that the observance of purdah tends to vary inversely with the degree of education received.

The findings of the study indicated that religious education, while it made a woman literate, also strengthened the desire to follow religiously sanctioned customs more closely. On the other hand, women who received modern secular education tended to be more liberal regarding observance of purdah.

The study also reported that a larger proportion of women who completed their secondary education did not observe purdah, yet a relatively high proportion of educated women continued to observe purdah either partially or intermittently. Muslim women valued secular education because of higher status it brings as well as for enhancement of their prospects in the marriage market yet maintained their allegiance to certain traditional values of which the observance of purdah was one.

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44. Conklin, George, H. (1976). 'Muslim Family Life and Secularization in Dharwar, Karnataka' in Imtiaz Ahmad (ed) Family, Kinship and Marriage among Muslims in India, New Delhi, Manohar, p. 127.

The study, thus, concluded that though a strong linear relationship exists between levels of education and variations in observance of purdah yet the observance of strict, partial or intermittent purdah was not discontinued by urban middle class educated Muslim women. Education, nevertheless, was found to be an important explanatory variable since increase in education was related to changes in the observance of purdah.<sup>45</sup>

Roy (1979) analysed the changes in the status of Muslim women in Lucknow and Delhi by comparing and contrasting women of three different age categories. Her study was also aimed at assessing the changes that have occurred in traditional Muslim family system.

Education was found to be an important factor for bringing about changes in the position of women. Among the employed women, the highly educated women exercised their rights over family savings and administration of family finances as compared to literate employed women. Education of girls not only resulted in delaying their age at marriage but also made them potential earners. Education and gainful employment for women coupled together helped in strengthening the position of women by giving the women certain added roles which attempt at bringing the women

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45. Ahmad, Shadbano (1977) 'Education and Purdah Nuances: A note on Muslim women in Aligarh', Social Action, vol. No. 1, January-March, pp. 45-60.

somewhat nearer to men in regard to rights and also moderated the erstwhile immense traditional authority of males. Younger generation woman, being educated, tended to become her husband's companion from being a mere wife. This sense of closeness and freer communication found among younger couple was largely missing in the couples of older generation. Though these changes fell within the broader limits of the overall cultural, milieu yet the emerging situation of women's expanded role-playing pointed to their changing life style and improvement in their status.

The study also found a marked change or decrease in the intensity of purdah observance with the increasing involvement of women in outdoor activities and participation in family economy which, in turn, proved that purdah is not a direct function of religion and a valid interpretation of purdah can be drawn only when the religious sanctions of purdah is blended with the socio-economic aspects of purdah.<sup>46</sup>

Radha and Ravindran (1985) in their study pointed out that the burden of household work on working women may not always contribute to withdrawal of these women from work participation. Work participation and consequent wider contact and expected changes in ideas were not fast enough to change the attitudes of working women themselves towards

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46. Roy, Shibani (1979), Status of Muslim Women in North India, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation.

towards the role of women in domestic work as a good majority of working women, contrary to expectations, did not expect help from their husbands in performing household work.

The study also found that as compared to non-working women, among working women a higher proportion spent less time at home activities, a higher proportion expected and received help from their husbands, and a lesser proportion believed domestic work as the responsibility of women alone.<sup>47</sup>

Verma's study (1985) attempted to understand changing life patterns and consciousness of three generation of Bihari women, coming from lower middle and middle class families, for locating continuities and discontinuities in their life styles. The study found that the first generation was brought up with a lot of restrictions in their maternal home and found some more of it at their in-laws place where they were socialised in a manner that could enable them to tolerate and bear hardships. These women were found to live their lives satisfactorily, but an underlying dissatisfaction with their past and a desire for freedom was prominent among these women.

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47. Devi, D. Radha and M. Ravindaran (1985), 'Working Women and Household Work, Social Change, vol.15, No. 2, June pp. 21-24.

The second generation women were also brought up with substantial restrictions but education had a value and place in their life. Like the first generation, they, too, gave priority to family. Job, goals in life and education were other priorities for this group. The study noticed a positive relationship between the level of education and a kind of liberal reason preferring and individualistic outlook towards the issues of life which was subtle but present in the thinking of second generation.

The third generation, too, showing a clear cut preference for individual quality and merit, were found to be mentally prepared to accept the same kind of social roles and more or less similar life styles as their earlier generations. Though their socialisation was in line of making them norm abiding girls yet they reported their childhood as a period of more freedom. The desire to be more and more educated was prominent for this generation.

Faith in God was found more or less common feature consistent with the earlier generations. However, the rituals were questioned and performed without understanding its meaningfulness in the second and third generation. Thus, the study showed consistency across generations as well as shades of differences in their



thinking and life styles on some issues.<sup>48</sup>

Jain (1986) in an attempt to assess the degree of modernisation among Muslims in Jaipur, found that while Muslim family structure and organisation were least affected by the changing social and economic situations yet some changes occurred as a result of exposure to education. The study revealed that the educated and working women enjoyed greater freedom in maintaining independent Bank accounts and in handling family finances. These women also showed a high degree of political consciousness and more confidence in their domestic dealing. It seemed to their advantage to have educated parents and husbands for women of these families were at liberty to relax purdah practices.

The study showed that education, occupation and income have greatly affected the religious thinking and political awareness and there was a growing trend of change from the traditional to the modern role structure.

It was also pointed out that the Muslim family structure was changing from a joint family structure to a nuclear family type. The same trend was visible in the Hindu family. Given the same socio-economic set up, the similarity between Hindu and Muslim family pattern,

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48. Verma, Jyoti (1985), 'Life patterns and thinking of three generations of Middle Class Bihari Women' Social Change, vol. 15, No. 2, June, pp. 25-28.

organization, consideration in mate selection and rituals in marriage were also found remarkable.<sup>49</sup>

Agarwal (1986) examined the impact of education on the social and cultural modernisation of Hindu and Muslim women, belonging to middle income group, in Delhi. The study indicated that education played an important role in changing attitudes and outlook of women as educated women were found to be more modern and having more liberal outlook as compared to their uneducated counterparts. Religion and family background also influenced the attitudes as Muslim women showed more conservative attitudes than Hindu women regarding almost all aspects of social and cultural life like marriage, family, women's status, education, religion etc. Age did not make any significant difference in the thinking of women as no differences was found between educated girls of younger age group and the educated women of older age group. The educational status of father and husband did influence the modernity level of Indian women.

The study showed that though education enabled the women to think in rational and logical terms yet the educated women were bound by traditions because the social sanctions obstructed the practice of actions which are regarded as modern. In certain areas the educated women

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49. Jain, Sushila (1986), Muslims and Modernization, Jaipur-4, Rawat Publications.

exhibited modern views whereas in others they were as traditional as uneducated women because the traditions had a great pull and change came rather slowly.<sup>50</sup>

Chaturvedi's study (1987) is a part of an All India Survey undertaken to explore a few aspects of Muslim community. It also provided a comparative perspective between the Hindus and the Muslims families drawn from the districts of Bahraich, Kanpur, Lucknow and Saharanpur both from rural and urban areas. The results of the study revealed that family size, marriage practices and economic status varied more according to urban-rural differences rather than religious differences. Some popular beliefs proved to be contrary to the actual practices. For instance, the study showed that 1.6% rural based Hindus practised polygamy and neither polygamy nor divorce were encouraged by Muslims.

The study reported that Muslims had a larger number of children than the Hindus but such difference did not exist in the rural areas where, regardless of religious affiliation, the average family had six or more children. Interestingly and contrary to popular belief, jointness was found more characteristic of urban than rural families. The economic conditions of Hindus was far better than that of Muslims. The rich Muslims were equally distributed between rural and urban sectors but rich Hindus were in greater

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50. Agarwal, Mamta (1986), Education and Modernization : A Study of Hindu and Muslim Women, New Delhi, Eduresearch Publication.

number in urban than in rural areas. A majority of Muslim females were found to observe the purdah while the Hindu families constituted only half of that. Purdah was practiced among Muslims more in urban than in the rural areas. An opposite trend was observed in the case of Hindus. 'Modernisation' was distinctively observed in terms of possession of modern artifacts like bicycles, wrist watch, radio etc. rather than in the acceptance of new sources of knowledge and information like periodicals and it could not be explained merely in terms of financial constraints.<sup>51</sup>

Siddiqui's study (1987) analysed the changes in the status of Muslim women and indicated a close association between socio-economic status and educational achievements in the case of both males and females. The higher educational achievements were almost entirely to be found among the higher socio-economic strata. Similarly, urban Muslims, both males and females, had done much better in respect of educational achievements than their rural counterparts, a trend which was consistent with the general pattern in respect of other communities in India.

Urban women had better access to educational facilities and exhibited greater change in their social

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51. Chaturvedi, H.R. (1987), 'Muslim and Hindu families in Uttar Pradesh : An Exploratory Study' in Muslim India, Vol. 5, October, pp. 468-470.

attitudes and practices. Women from higher socio-economic classes in urban areas with access to higher and professional education, were for full-time employment whereas the women, both rural and urban, in the lower socio-economic strata did part-time work generally of an unskilled nature.

The study reflected that urban Muslim women had a higher participation level, in decision making or taking independent decision, both at home and outside home, whereas rural women were comparatively less active.

Changes were also found in marriage patterns and purdah practices. The concept of purdah as total seclusion of women undergone changes though it was found widely prevalent in both urban and rural areas. But the low observance of purdah by younger generation signified a change. There were gradual changes in respect to ideal age at marriage and consulting girls while taking decisions regarding their marriages but these changes in attitudes and practices were found more pronounced in some cases in urban areas and among the women with High School or above educational attainment. Thus, educated women with urban and sound economic background showed greater changes.<sup>52</sup>

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52. Siddiqui, H.Y. (1987), Muslim Women in Transition - a Social Profile, New Delhi, Harnam Publications.

Javed's study (1990) examined the kind and extent of change in Muslim families of Hyderabad, belonging to various socio-economic strata, from 1948 till 1985. The study focussed attention upon the traditional social structure and culture of the Muslims of Hyderabad and analysed the impact of two factors - partition and police action, and employment opportunities in the Gulf - on Hyderabad Muslims.

It was found that after Police Action, the institution of family underwent many changes. Polygamy among the elite became less frequent and the large families started breaking up. Women's employment, which traditionally was a taboo, got acceptance, thus necessitated women's education. After Police Action the upper class sank into stagnation and the lower class who had always been dependent on the feudal families were forced into begging. The middle class Muslims, who placed value on education were able to perceive greater opportunities for mobility through education.

Muslim youth in Hyderabad were found interested in professional courses that would fetch them handsome salaries in the Gulf. They aspired for professional or vocational courses rather than opting for a liberal arts college education.

The study also pointed out to the changes in the life style of Hyderabad Muslims as a result of widespread

employment opportunities in the Gulf. The handsome earning of upper and middle class women's husbands had affected the status of these women. The women who were found to plan their family expenditures, savings and children's education have developed a self confidence that was not traditionally known. But the poor women who were taken to Gulf countries as wives were found subjected to all kind of tortures.

The study concluded that in their adjustment and response to change, Hyderabad Muslims have not shown uniform pattern; rather their reactions have been in terms of the socio-economic strata to which they belonged. The study confirms that the response to change by any group or community is not uniform. And even a community like the Muslims, which in the perspective of majority-minority relations is often perceived as a monolith, has deep inter-community variations that are influenced by the existential conditions of the various sections of the community.<sup>53</sup>

Sayeedunisa Somayajulu, Das, Kumar and Ramachandran (1990) undertook a survey at religious places of Christians, Hindus and Muslims viz. Mount Mary Church (Bombay), Lingaraja Temple (Bhubaneswar), Venkateshwara

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53. Javed, Arifa Kulsoom (1990), Muslim Society in Transition, New Delhi, Commonwealth Publishers.

Temple (Triputi), Tanganath Temple (Puri) and Haji Ali Dargarh (Bombay).

The study showed that though in all five places of worship, a majority of visitors were adherents of the sect to which the place of worship belonged, a significantly large number of people from other religious groups also paid respect. Contradicting the popular belief that most persons visiting the places of worship were older people, the study reported that young persons came in large number and visited more frequently.

The study also pointed out that the visitors were from all educational levels as well as from all the occupational categories. The uneducated people visited the Dargah for spiritual peace whereas most of the educated visitors visited the Dargah for personal gains. This again contradicted the popular belief that people with a lower level of education go to the places of worship for personal gains and that the more educated persons alone can take a spiritual stance. The spiritual reasons for the visit were found to be most important and they cut across barriers such as social class, income and occupation.<sup>54</sup>

Aziz and Khan (1993) examined the relationship between fertility rate and socio-economic status of Muslim

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54. Sayeed Unisa (et.al.) (1990), 'Profile of Visitors to Places of Worship', Social Action, Vol. 40, No. 1, Jan-March, pp. 57-70.



women in Aligarh. It was found that there is an inverse relationship between fertility rate and income and education i.e. Higher the income lower the fertility. And there is a fall in the fertility as women climb up the educational ladder. Though education and economic status seemed to be related but effectively educational standard appeared to have more profound and widespread bearing on fertility than economic status as low status but educated women also exhibited a lower fertility than their uneducated counterparts.

The study also indicated that Muslim women, if socio-economic factors are controlled, would have the same levels of fertility and trends as are found in other groups and their religion, as a faith, did not account for any different fertility rates or any different pattern as the study found similar fertility trends among the Muslim, caste Hindu and scheduled caste women of similar socio-economic background.<sup>55</sup>

Madani (1993) in an attempt to depict the influence of the Hindu way of life on the Muslims of Bihar, pointed out that the major population of the Hindus had affected the life styles of the muslims to a great extent largely due to the cultural contact between the two communities.

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55. Aziz, A. and Firoz Khan (1993), 'Fertility as a Function of Education and Economic Status in Muslim Women in Aligarh' in Zakia, A. Siddiqui and Anwar Jahan Zubairi (eds) Muslim Women - Problems and Prospects, New Delhi, M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd.

The Muslims were found to have adopted a number of customs and traditions of marriage from the Hindus like 'Mangni', dahej (dowry), feasts, dower, 'shahana jora', 'Mehdi', 'Haldi', 'Rukhsati' etc.

Changes were also found in the matters of dress style of Muslims and mostly in the dresses of Muslim women. The saree was adopted by the Muslim women in India from the Hindus. Though this is wrong from Islamic point of view because it exposes the parts of body which a Muslim is expected to cover. But, it was found that saree was so common that wearing of saree no longer appeared objectionable to the "Mullahs". The study also noticed the impact of westernization on Indian dress style. Only the young girls of rich families were found to wear 'pants-shirts', 'jeans', skirts. The dresses were not common but the girls from poor and rich families liked to wear these western dresses because it gave them the spirit of modernisation, and self reliance. (It was not clear whether these girls were Hindus or Muslims). The Hindu impact on the Muslim male garments in India was the adoption of 'lungi' and 'dhoti'.

The study also pointed out that though cooking of vegetables as food prevailed only among Hindu families because non-vegetarian, according to their religion was unlawful. Some Muslim families had adopted vegetarian way

of food. On the other hand, some Hindus have started taking non-vegetarian dishes.<sup>56</sup>

A survey conducted by the Delhi Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in Matia Mahal Delhi (1995) found a very large number of Muslim male illiterates while their female counterparts were either educated till class XII or were graduates and post-graduates or even teaching in public schools. The average family was found to have six to eight children. The great pressure on fathers to earn led their sons to lend a helping hand and to become a productive partner. The sons felt the need for money, decided to earn and drop out of schools. They received encouragement from their parents as, for them, knowing 'Quran Sharif' is sufficient for their children.

The girls, on the other hand, were found keen to study. Moreover, the only entertainment for them appeared to be their involvement in studies in a closed environment as they were not allowed to move freely outside their homes after they returned from college.

The study revealed that the continuous studies of girls resulted in delaying their age at marriage as the parents were found unable to find equally qualified grooms for them. Most of these girls got married to illiterate men

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56. Madani, Mohsen, Saeidi (1993), Impact of Hindu Culture on Muslims, New Delhi, MD Publications Pvt. Ltd.

by taking into account the family background of grooms. Education was not given any importance. The study, however, observed a great desire among some women to find educated groom for their daughter, and a desire among some males of older generation to study, generally with wife and children educated.<sup>57</sup>

Shekhar's study (1996) analysed the changes in family brought about by male emigration. The study focussed on the impact of male migration, to the Middle East from two villages of Kerala, on female sex roles. Three factors- guardianship of family, residential arrangement and management of major household activities - were considered important while analysing the changes.

The study revealed that the migration of their husbands exposed the traditional village women, used to a patriarchal set up, to an entirely different situation. They now shoulder responsibilities and take decision as well as frequently interact with the outside world, which they had rarely done before.

The study also brought to fore the fact that the women left behind adjusted very well to the challenges brought on by male migration. In the process they gained self confidence, self-esteem and better status within the

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57. Ragunathan, Sudhamahi (1995), 'Literate Wives, Illiterate Husbands' in The Hindustan Times, October 10, p. 16.

family. The general assumption that the absence of the head of the household or husbands may lead to family disruption was not substantiated by the findings in this study.<sup>58</sup>

Having reviewed all the relevant studies, a brief resume will help in the further elaboration of the salient features in respect of education as it appeared among Hindus and Muslims affecting various aspects of life. From the foregoing studies we find that most of the studies found that largely under the influence of urbanization, education played an important role in changing the attitudes and behaviour of people from traditional to modern. [Ross (1961), Ginzberg (1966), Gore (1968), Hate (1969), Mehta (1970), Bhatti (1975), Conklin (1976), Ahmad (1977), Verma (1985), Roy (1979), Agarwal (1986), Jain (1986), Khan (1993)] but the change was found mostly in their attitudes rather than actual practice because people still follow the traditions under the influence of either their religious faith or family background [Cormack (1953), Ross (1961), Gore (1968), Mehta (1970), Jain (1986), Agarwal (1986)]. Women's education and subsequent increase in their economic independence raised their status but their status is, still, not equal to men. [Ross (1961),

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58. Shekhar, T.V. (1996), 'Male Emigration and Changes in the Family : Impact on Female Sex roles' in The Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. 57, Issue 2, April 1996, p. 293.

Ginzberg (1966), Hate (1969), Bhatta (1975), Jain (1986)] and in some cases the importance of women's education is not even recognised by the family (Ragunathan (1995).

The above discourse, notwithstanding, Indian society is marked by a peculiar trend of contradictions and continuity not generally known to many other societies. This unique aspect of Indian culture makes it difficult to identify specific variables affecting different aspects of life. On the one hand, education has been shown to bring about changes in society. On the other hand, one finds that educated individuals and families do not necessarily exhibit the changes generally associated with educated persons. Considerable variations are to be found in educational level, nature of employment, behaviour patterns, social practices and attitudes among socio-economic categories. The educational level, occupational status of people are significantly determined by their parents which has a positive or negative association with their own. Moreover, the life styles of people show consistency as well as differences across generations. All these differences and similarities among Indian people are quite marked in terms of rural-urban differences rather than religious differences as given the similar socio-economic condition people belonging to different religious faith exhibited similar behaviour patterns.

There is a general perception that Muslims in India are either not keeping pace with the recent times or are lagging behind other communities in this regard and there are some elements in their religious faith which have been responsible for their failure to respond to process of social change currently underway in India.<sup>59</sup> But this view appears to be premature as the present study would reveal that most deprived section of the Indian Muslim community is witnessing change and striving hard to keep pace with recent time.

Since the traditional and the modern are blended within Indian society and has permeated all sections of Indian society, the Hindus and Muslims may be similar in their response to the process of social change in India.

The process of social change works subtly through family and the impressions of social change are first felt by family which is a basic unit of society.

A review of the studies reveals that various studies dealing with the family are primarily concerned with the change in family structure. Studies concerning various aspects of family life specially of Muslims are very few. Some studies examined the process of modernisation in a particular community as well as the

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59. Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed) (1983), Modernization and Social Change among Muslims in India, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, p. 19.

impact of western contact with Indian subjects. Comparative and empirical studies highlighting the impact of education on life styles of Hindu and Muslim families are hard to find, whatsoever studies are available used life styles in a very vague manner and differ in their focus of interest. In view of this fact that the present study makes an humble attempt to assess the impact of education on the life styles of Hindu and Muslim families across three generations. Since the review of literature reveals that most studies pertain to middle class families, special efforts were made to study families hailing from upper and lower economic strata.

In addition to education economic status, religion and age appear to be important factors influencing people's attitudes, behaviour and life styles, some studies recognised the fact and took age as important variable; [Ross (1961), Mehta (1970), Verma (1985), Jain (1986), Javed (1990)] and found it influencing factor. Some studies pointed out that age does not make any difference (Agarwal, 1986).

Continuity and change are well integrated in the social system and one can study the changed situation only in comparison with the traditional system.

It should be noted that when we refer to social change we introduced the idea of continuity. It implies that there is continuous change taking place in a definite



manner because of operation of the forces present in the situation.<sup>60</sup>

In view of the above fact, the present study is an attempt to examine the impact of education on changing life styles of three generation of Hindu and Muslim families through case study method. Such an attempt would hopefully clarify which basic value orientations of people are hard to change and why and what necessitates their alteration or change. It would also clarify the complex set of factors that are operative in creating the differences and similarities in the life styles of people with similar educational attainment.

The present study is not aimed at measuring the percentage of change in the life style but tries to focus on some of the aspects of life styles and to find out the factors operative in bringing about changes. The case study method which is a long standing method for qualitative analysis, was adopted as it was expected to provide greater depth of understanding of the nature of life style as well as the complexity of factors that contribute to its change.

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60. Chakrabarty, Manas (1978), 'Judiciary and Social Change' in Social Change, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 20.

## CHAPTER - II

### OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The present study is a three generational study based on case study method and examines the impact of education on life styles of Hindu and Muslim families. The research setting is Aligarh city.

The main objectives of study are :

- i) To assess the role of education in bringing about changes in the life styles of Hindu and Muslim families.
- ii) To compare and contrast the changing life styles of members of the single family unit at the inter-generational level in terms of :
  - (a) Familial role structure
  - (b) Network of family relations including marital relationship between husband and wife.
  - (c) Observance of or non-observance of traditions viz: wearing of chadar/veil/burqa by women, restrictions on movement outside home, style of clothing, food habits, style of speech, religiousity, restrictions on children and their life styles.
  - (d) Educational aspirations and nature of economic and occupational structure
  - (e) Marriage patterns
  - (f) Leisure time activities, sources of entertainment, exposure to mass media, political awareness and participation.
- iii) To compare and contrast changes in the life styles of families with different socio-economic status.

### LIFE STYLE :

The term "Life Style" generally denotes 'the way people live' reflecting a wide range of social values, attitudes and activities. It is composed of cultural and behavioural patterns and life-long habits that have developed through the process of socialisation.<sup>1</sup>

For the present study under the umbrella of life style are included educational attainment and educational aspirations, occupational structure, familial role structure, network of family relationships (between husband and wife and between parents and children), marriage patterns, observance or non-observance of traditions, religiousity, style of clothing, style of speech, food habits, leisure time activities, sources of entertainment, exposure to mass media, political socialisation and individual value orientation.

In modern times, the schools and colleges have been entrusted with the responsibility of physical, mental and intellectual development of children. "In present time, therefore, education refers to formal schooling".<sup>2</sup> Thus, in the present study the term 'education' has been used in

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1. Park, J.E. and K. Park (1991), Text Book of Preventive and Social Medicine, (Thirteenth edition), Jabalpur, Banarsidas Bharat Publishers. P.16.
  2. Bhatnagar, G.S. (1972), Education and Social Change, Calcutta, The Minerva Associates, p. 3.

this narrow but specific sense to denote formal instructions.

### HYPOTHESES

Before going into the field a pilot study was undertaken by the researcher. The results of the pilot study, combined with the role played by education in bringing about changes in India, led to the development of the following hypotheses :

- i) It is hypothesised that the higher the educational attainment the greater will be the changes in life styles.
- ii) It is also hypothesised for the present study that urban based families of higher economic status, regardless of religious faith, change their life style more rapidly as compared to urban based families in the lower income.
- iii) It is, further, hypothesised that younger generation change their life style more rapidly as compared to older generation. Though there is consistency in life styles across generations yet differences are greater than similarities in their life styles.

### UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY

The present study was conducted in Aligarh City which is situated in Western Uttar Pradesh. Aligarh is

basically a university town (B category) with its own municipal corporation. It is well known for its lock industries which have over the years expanded tremendously. Of late the agro-industries like Hind Agro Industries, Rubber and Iron Industries, Food Canning Industries have also begun to function.

Besides the Aligarh Muslim University, three major colleges in Aligarh are affiliated to the Agra University viz. Dharam Samaj College, Baraseni College and Tikaram Women's College. Apart from these, many other Intermediate colleges which impart education at various levels to a substantial population also form an important part of life in Aligarh. Aligarh is an important educational, administrative and business centre. The Government officials comprising the whole gamut of District authorities, University and College teachers, lawyers practising at the lower/criminal and the civil courts, doctors and a large number of well established businessmen dealing with import/export business constitute the elite of Aligarh.

The population of the city in 1981 (census 1981) was 320861. The 1981 census shows a population of 171829 males and 14932 females, a sex ratio of 872 females per 1000 males in the city of Aligarh (census, 1981, Aligarh city).

The literacy and education rates in Aligarh city are higher as compared to other parts of the State. Male literacy is as high as 54.1 per cent (93,488) and female literacy stands at 36.45 percent (54,328). The average is 46.07 percent while the literacy rates on the all India level is 46.89 percent male and 24.82 percent female (census of India, 1981, series I).

Educated employees constitute a little over 25 percent (80.275) of the population of Aligarh city. The proportion of employees among males is about 45 percent (77.237) but among the women it is only 2.03 percent (3,038) (Records of District Statistics Office, Aligarh).

Most of the employed work as teachers either in schools or colleges/university or as office assistants, nurses, doctors and lawyers or maintain their own business houses.

In view of Aligarh's cultural plurality, the educational facilities available in the University and other major colleges and institutions, Aligarh may be classified as a "PsuedoCosmopolitan University Town".

#### NATURE OF SAMPLING

Since the study concerns itself with examining the impact of education on life styles of Hindu and Muslim families of similar and different economic background, a purposive samples was selected. The sample consisted of

eight families four of which were Hindu and the other four Muslims. The two most important considerations for sample selection were level of education and family income.

The criterion for selection of families rested on the educational level of the third generation, in which at least one male and one female unmarried child had passed the High School examination. Another criterion for selection of sample was that families were to be selected from upper and lower income group.

Ideally the educational qualifications of the third generation should have been the 'Graduation' level, but despite efforts families with graduate children both male and female, could not be located. The other problem was to control the income group. In the absence of classified data indicating income levels it was not easily possible for the researcher to locate the desired typical families, that is, those of low income group and graduate level education, though high income level and graduate level education were common. A thorough scanning revealed that in the lower income group neither the male nor the female child (of the third generation) has attained graduate level education. It therefore, became imperative to select families having third generation children with a minimum High school education.

For the present study, upper income group refers to income of Rs. 10000/- per month or above, whereas lower income group ranges between Rs. 2500 to 5000 per month.



The families under study were selected and classified as upper or lower income group families on the basis of the total monthly income of the present family members i.e. second generation or third generation members.

In order to select the eight families for the present study, areawise search was conducted by the researcher, with the help of friends and contacts. Since Aligarh, is a close-knit society, the location of families was not too difficult. What, in fact, was difficult was to locate those families which met the exact criteria laid down for the present study. The researcher made a door to door survey to locate suitable families. Many times the families were located but they were most uncooperative and unwilling to talk or to allow the researcher to enter the room.

It was not possible to enter homes without first obtaining an introduction through a common friend. The friend would then convince the family that the researcher was a very close friend and could be trusted, only then entrance to the home was possible. This was a common feature for both Muslim and Hindu families regardless of the income group. After a great deal of contacts and more contacts eight families were selected in accordance with the laid down criteria.

The two upper income Hindu families were selected from Ramghat Road and Marris Road area of Aligarh. The two

lower income Hindu families were from Rambagh colony and press colony Aligarh.. Two upper income Muslim families were selected from Sir Syed Nagar and Medical Road area of Aligarh and two lower income Muslim families were from Jamalpur area of Aligarh.

The final selected sample consisted of eight families. The sampling method used could be considered to be what is called in sociological language as 'purposive sampling'.

#### METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Before commencing the detailed investigation in each family a pilot study on women students of S.N. Hall<sup>3</sup> was done by the researcher by using a specially prepared interview guide.

In the field, information was collected through duly pretested interview guide and observations in interacting situation. At the time of visits to the homes of selected families, questions were formulated in accordance with the interview guide. Due to non-availability of first generation members, the information regarding their life styles was obtained through their son (that is to say) through the male members of second generation. A considerable number of questions were kept open ended.

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1. S.N. Hall is a Hall of residence for girls studying in A.M.U.

Almost the same questions were asked from all members in order to maximise the validity of responses. The interviews were, by and large, in the form of informal conversation during which all the topics of the prepared guide were covered. The interview guide in final form is given in Appendix.

The respondents were duly informed about the purpose of study and assured of their anonymity. Despite their initial inhibition, the overcoming of which did not take much time, most of them specially women and some intellectual type of person, appeared to have enjoyed talking to the researcher and giving information. A few male members were hesitant in the beginning but later on found themselves at ease and spoke freely to the researcher.

All interviews were held at the residence of the respondents. Each respondent was interviewed separately unless due to unavoidable limitation of space others had to be present. They were, then, politely asked not to interfere with the interview.

Some interviews were discontinued due to the involvement of female members in work or because of lack of interest of respondents. Such interviews were completed during the next visits. All details were noted and immediately, after the interview, every detail was meticulously written down.

The nature of the subject, the number of persons under study and the method of data collection adopted for the study convinced the researcher that it would be just a farce to carry out statistical analysis and to present collected data in the statistical modes or table graphs etc. Quantification did not appear to serve the purpose and consequently the case study method was adopted. The case study method was used to fully bring out the essence of behaviour patterns of individuals in the given family unit.

The case data are always gathered with a view to trace the natural history of the social unit and its relationship with the social factor and the forces involved in its surrounding milieu.<sup>4</sup> Despite some of its shortcomings like lack of representativeness, the researcher tried by means of case study method to understand the complex of factors that are operative within a social unit as an integrated totality.

#### PROBLEMS FACED DURING THE COURSE OF THE STUDY

The study was conducted by the researcher single handedly. In spite of the efforts to avoid pitfalls, many stumbling blocks created problems. The initial problem was due to non-availability of families which fulfill all the

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4. Wilkinson and Bhandarkar (1977). Methodology and Technique of Social Research , Bombay, Himalaya Publishing House. P. 243.

conditions required for the study. The search seemed unending and took away a major portion of the time.

Once the families were selected the researcher had to take permission and to fix time for interviewing different members of the family separately. This also took more time than expected.

Though most of the informants enjoyed talking with researcher yet some informants (specially male informants) were not willing to be interviewed. They, sometimes responded in such a manner that irritated the researcher, but since the researcher had no choice, she continued the interview. The interviews were discontinued when the respondents so desired and another time had to be fixed for the interview. Thus, the researcher had to make several visits to the families. Though, in the beginning, it appeared to be a burden, later the researcher observed that she was learning more about the families. Some of the information which could not be elicited during the first setting, was easier to obtain during subsequent visits. The respondent, too, became more friendly and open.

Most of the interviews were held in the afternoon when most of the family members were free. But if the informants were not willing to cooperate they fixed up an appointment with the researcher for interview and were not available at that time. This disappointed the researcher

and extra amount of money and time was spent on visiting them. Even some educated people were not willing to cooperate.

Due to non-availability of some of the family members for a long period the researcher had to drop those families from the sample even though other respondents from the same families had been interviewed earlier.

All said and done, however, the researcher was gratified after completing the case studies. The experience was indeed invaluable and insights gained turned out to be rewarding.

## CHAPTER - III

### CASE STUDIES OF EIGHT FAMILIES

In this chapter case histories of eight families are reported. The data presented was collected by the researcher. The case studies are presented as follows :

- i) Two upper income group Hindu families
- ii) Two upper income group Muslim families
- iii) Two lower income group Hindu families
- iv) Two lower income group Muslim families

All names used in the case studies are pseudonyms. A brief overview of each case study is followed by details.

#### Case No. 1

Ist generation : Mr. Kumar's father - ill and bed ridden and lives with his son Prof. Raj Kumar, not interviewed as he was too sick.

IIInd generation : Mr. Raj Kumar - Teacher by Profession  
Mrs. Raj Kumar - Housewife

IIIrd generation : Anil - Son (student)  
Priya - Daughter (student)

Family Income - Above 10,000/- per month

Residence - Marris Road, Aligarh.

Owns house, moderate in size, consisting of drawing room cum dining room, bed room, study room, varandah and small boundary, neat and clean well arranged with moderately fancy furnitures and art objects, modern gadgets.



Mr. Raj Kumar, along with his father, wife, son and daughter, resides in his own neat and tidy house which is moderate in size and situated at Marris Road, Aligarh.

Mr. Raj Kumar in his fifties, a Professor by profession in A.M.U., is a decent, polite and soft spoken person who welcomed the researcher and provided the necessary information.

Mr. Raj Kumar's father was born in Saraineem village of district Etah where there were no schools. Therefore, he went to his cousin's place at Hathras and passed his High School. He wanted to study further but his father's untimely demise withheld his desire to go in for higher education as they lived in a joint family and being second oldest had to look after his brothers and cousins. His father owned a small piece of land whose yield was insufficient for the livelihood of the whole family. As a result he joined service in 'Gram Sudhar Sabha' at Agra. Though he was the second child of his parents, he shouldered the responsibility of running the house and encouraged his brothers and cousins to go in for higher education. Because of these impediments he could not study further despite being a brilliant student. After sometime he joined a chemist shop/as a trainee and later on he established his own shop at Aligarh.

His marriage was arranged by his parents taking into account family background and caste. He did not see

his bride before marriage. Mr. Raj Kumar's mother was born in Madhaka village of district Mathura. She was illiterate because women's education was the most neglected area in villages those days. Her brothers, however, were encouraged and stayed in hostel for obtaining education. Besides, her younger sisters, too, received education which sometimes reminded her about her misfortune in not receiving education. She was married at the tender age of 15 and her husband, at that time, was 20 years old.

While talking about his parent's religious education Mr. Kumar revealed that they did not obtain any specific religious education. Neither his parents obtained religious education nor they forced him for the same.

Mr. Kumar's father attended 'keertan' and 'satsang' occasionally, but was not at all regular in observing other ritual practices. His mother was very much religious and regular in observing 'pooja', 'vrat', 'daan' and in attending 'keertan' and 'satsang'. She believed in the power of 'mannat' but did not go to the 'dargah'. She recited the 'Ramayan' daily. While going to 'teerth-yatra' she proposed that her husband accompany her but the latter turned down the proposal and sent his son instead.

The final authority regarding important family matters such as education, marriage of children, buying land and things for home was the prerogative of his father

but his mother took decisions exclusively regarding household matters. There was no direct communication between husband and wife and between father and son. Mr. Kumar said "you might be surprised to know that I never talked to my father directly except a few sentences and even today I don't talk to him directly. I had never seen my mother talking to my father, directly or discussing anything important". He revealed that his mother veiled her face in the presence of her in-laws and even before her husband.

Mr. Kumar's mother alone was responsible for doing household chores. His father never helped her. His father kept all income with himself and his mother was given money for household expenditure. A large portion of income was spent on food and education. The meal was served first to male members of the family. His father never had meals with his wife or son. He is a vegetarian and had meals sitting on the floor. Now he is ill and bed-ridden. His meal is served often on his bed. He rarely talks to anyone except his grand children.

Mr. Kumar's father wore pants and shirts when he was employed and went to work. Now, however, he wears 'dhoti-kurta' and sometimes 'kurta-pajama'. Mr. Kumar's mother's dress was 'saree' for all occasions and places. She did not wear jewellery nor used cosmetics except while attending functions or during festivals. But she always put

a 'bindi' on her forehead and sindur in the parting of her hair. She was a pure vegetarian and liked eating sitting on the floor.

Mr. Raj Kumar's parents spoke Hindi. The family did not subscribe to newspapers but his father subscribed to English newspaper at his shop and read it regularly. His father's political awareness is apparent in regularly exercising his franchise according to his own decision. His mother, though not politically aware, was not dependent on her husband for casting her vote.

Mr. Raj Kumar was born in Saraineem. He did his Intermediate from Hindi medium and obtained his B.Sc. degree from Agra University. His father wanted him to obtain higher education and to take up the career of an engineer. Mr. Kumar joined Engineering in IIT Kanpur but left the course, in the very beginning, due to the fear of ragging as he was not /used to such type of atmosphere. Since he was interested in further studies, he joined A.M.U. for obtaining his M.Sc. and Ph.D. degrees. During the course of his studies Mr. Kumar's father asked him to marry but Mr. Kumar did not agree with him and assured him that he would marry according to his parents choice but not before completing his studies. His mother did not take much interest regarding his career.

Mr. Kumar's parents arranged his marriage taking into account caste, educational level and family background. Prior to his marriage he saw his would be bride in a restaurant but did not talk to her. After completing his education and getting the job as a lecturer he was married at the age of 29 years. Mr. Kumar considers education, occupation, family background and caste as important determinants for selecting a marriage partner for his children.

He would arrange his children's marriage with their full consent. Though he would like to avoid inter-religious and inter-caste marriages due to cultural differences but, if necessary, he could approve both inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. He favours widow and divorcee remarriages and opposes child marriages.

Mr. Kumar offers 'pooja' occasionally. He visits temples on festivals and sometimes offers 'pooja' at home. He observes 'vrat' occasionally in order to make his wife feel that he is with her in observing 'vrat'. He gives 'daan' on festivals because his wife asks him to do so. And his wife was trained by her mother-in-law to do so. He does not believe in 'mannat'. He rarely attends 'keertan' and 'satsang' and recites 'Ramayan' occasionally. He wants to go for 'teerth yatra' and 'dargah' with an aim to visit the places.

Mr. Kumar takes final decision on family matters in consultation with his wife and children. He has a joint bank account with his wife. He often helps his wife in household chores. A larger part of income is spent on food and education. Mr. Kumar reads English newspaper daily. He uses his leisure time in reading magazines, historical books and accompanying his friends. He watches serials and news on television.

Mr. Kumar speaks Urdu and English fluently. His Urdu accent is clear and in the 'Lucknawi style. He usually wears 'pant-shirt' and sometimes he wears 'kurta-pajama' at home. He is a non-vegetarian. He developed his taste for non-vegetarian dishes some years ago in the company of his Muslim friends. He prefers to eat with the help of spoons on a dining table and chairs. Non-vegetarian dishes are not prepared at home but are brought from restaurants and for which different utensils other than of daily use are used.

Mr. Kumar often discusses political affairs with his friends and reads newspapers. He casts his vote regularly on account of his own independent decision.

Mr. Kumar's wife Mrs. Renu is a 45 years old, polite and well behaved lady. She was dresses up in a 'saree' and adorns her forehead with 'bindi' and 'sindur'. She met the researcher warmly and tried her best to cooperate by providing the relevant information.

Mrs. Renu was born in Riva (Madhya Pradesh). She studied there up to 4th class in an English medium school. Her father was transferred to Bhopal where she continued her studies in Hindi medium school. Though her parents wanted their children to be educated yet, she noted their discriminatory attitudes towards their daughters and sons in this regard. Since the family shifted from Riva to Bhopal, her parents had to get admitted their children in schools there. Every English medium institution, that they went to seek admission, wanted to/enroll their children in two classes lower. Her parents did not want the same. They got admitted their daughters in Hindi medium schools and tried their best for the only son to get him admitted in an English medium school.

Mrs. Renu did her B.Sc. from Indore University and stayed for one year in a hostel. She had a great desire of staying in the hostel and her parents sent her to hostel just to make her believe that she was not being discriminated as a girl or daughter.

After completing her B.Sc., she joined M.Sc. which she had to leave against her wishes as her parents found a suitable match for her. She/wanted to continue her studies but her parents convinced her to marry as she was the eldest child of her parents. She was married at the age of 21 years. While arranging her marriage, her parents took

into account caste, education and occupational level of her husband. She did not see her husband before marriage but she was consulted by her parents before taking any decisions regarding her marriage. As far as her children's marriage is concerned, she feels that education, respectable job, personality and caste are important factors that should be considered while arranging marriage. She confided that though she would like to avoid inter-religious or inter-caste marriages of her children but, if necessary, she will allow them for the same albeit unwillingly. She said "Agar aisa kuchh hoga to karna hee padega". She feels that child marriages should be firmly disapproved and she favours widow and divorcee remarriages.

Mrs. Renu continued her studies two years after her marriage. After the death of her first child, her parents and husband advised her to continue her studies in order to keep herself busy to overcome the memories of her child. She also felt the same way. Consequently, she obtained M.A. and B.Ed. degrees. And after the birth of her second son and daughter, she joined research because she wanted to have her own identity and she wanted to know whether she could write a thesis as a others could do. Initially her aim was to become a doctor but she dropped the idea. After obtaining Doctorate she tried for job and taught for two years in a primary school just to pass time. She is now



satisfied with her life as a housewife. but, sometimes, she feels that she must utilize her educational qualifications taking up a respectable job even without salary as she wants her own identity. However, she feels relaxed at home when she notices the tensions and tiredness of working women. She encourages her son and daughter regarding their education and career but does not impose her will on them regarding their career. //

Mrs. Renu offers 'pooja' daily and observes 'vrat' regularly. She gives 'daan' on festivals. She learnt these rituals in company of her mother-in-law and now she has become habitual in observing these rituals. She rarely attends 'keertan' and 'satsang'. And infact, she hates attending 'satsang' because those who deliver lecture, she feels, they themselves are hypocritical and generally do not practice what they teach. She recites 'Ramayan' only on Mondays as she does not get time daily. She wants to go to 'teerth-yatra' with an aim to visit there. She does not believe in 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah'. She veils her face while going outside home and observes rules of avoidance in presence of in-laws and close relatives. Initially her mother-in-law asked her to do so strictly and now she is used to observe.

Mrs. Renu's husband often consults her as well as children at the time of taking decisions. He often helps her in household chores. But when his mother was alive he never helped his/wife because his mother considered it bad

for male members to do household work.

Mrs. Renu speaks Hindi. She reads English newspaper whenever she gets time from her household chores. Besides it she reads Hindi magazines and visits her relatives and friends during leisure time. She watches serials and musical programmes and sometimes listen to news on television. She goes for shopping with her husband or friends. She rarely visits cinema and restaurant.

She always wears 'saree' for all occasions and places. She uses light jewellery and make up in functions.

Mrs. Renu is a vegetarian but sometimes takes egg. she feels happy while serving hot food to her family but join them at dining table before the dinner ends. Usually she eats with family members at the dining table but prefers to eat sitting on the floor without using spoons. She said "usually we don't use spoons but when some guests come, my children use spoons in their presence."

Mrs. Renu does not have much political awareness or interest in casting her vote but whenever she is forced by her husband to cast her vote she exercises her franchise independently.

Mrs. and Mr. Kumar's son Anil is a 20 year old serious and confident boy who responded the researcher quite comfortably and confidently.

Anil began and completed his schooling from a famous school at Aligarh where medium of instructions is English. He did Intermediate from A.M.U. and now he is a student of B.Sc. engineering third year. No specific religious education was given to him. His parents always guided and encouraged him for his educational and occupational pursuit but never forced him in selecting his career.

Anil feels that education is an important thing in one's life, because he feels that educated people have a different way of thinking as compared to uneducated people. He strongly favours women's education as it affects the whole family life as well as facilitates the educational pursuit of the coming generation. He encourages his sister regarding her career and wishes that his future wife should be a career woman.//However, he has no objection if she is not working. He believes that the first important consideration while arranging a matrimonial alliance is that marriage partner should be well acquainted with each other before marriage, as similarity in thoughts and common interest and views are essential for leading a happy married life. In addition to these qualities, he wants his future wife to be highly educated and good in nature. He does not consider caste to be important in settling marriage proposal. He approves inter-caste and inter-religious marriage. He considers that caste and religion is no bar. He is firm in his belief that his parents would allow him for inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, if he

wishes, because they do not impose their wishes or decisions upon him. He will favour his sister for these marriages if she wants. In general, he opposes child marriages and favours widow and divorcee remarriages because it becomes very difficult for them to lead the whole life alone./

Anil's religious attitudes, like most of the other are influenced by his father's attitudes. He is convinced by his father's attitude while he does not like his mother's religious attitudes who is too much religious in observing rituals. He thinks of God daily for a short while but does not observe 'pooja'. He sometimes observes 'vrat' because specially prepared dishes are served to those who observe 'vrat'. He never attended 'keertan' and 'satsang' and never visited 'dargah'. He does not believe in 'mannat'. He believes that humanity is more important than observing religious rituals. He recited 'Ramayan' only twice during his life only with the purpose of participating in/the common 'katha'. He would go, not necessarily, for 'teerth yatra' with the purpose of visiting the places.

Anil gives priority to education, housing and food while spending money. He wants to possess modern luxury items like Car which his family does not have but he does not force his parents to provide the same. He reads English

newspaper daily. During his leisure time he reads novels and English magazines, listens music and, sometimes, plays games. He helps his mother in household chores, more than his sister quite often and regularly. He is willing to help his would be wife too.

Anil mostly converses in English when outside the home. He speaks English mixed with Urdu at home. During the course of interview he mostly spoke English and sometimes sophisticated Urdu.

Anil wears 'pant-shirt' at all places and on all occasions. He sometimes, wears shorts and rarely wears 'kurta-pajama' at home. He is a non-vegetarian and prefers non-vegetarian and tasty dishes. He usually eats sitting at the dining table and uses spoons and forks depending upon what he is eating. However, he has no objection having his meal sitting on the floor. He visits cinema and restaurants with his friends with/ parental permission. He have non-vegetarian dishes in restaurants and sometimes brings at home also.

Anil is politically aware and discusses political affairs quite often. He is willing to cast his vote according to his own choice.

Anil's sister Priya, 16 year old, simple and well behaved girl, is a student of eleventh class in women's college.

A.M.U.. Her medium of instructions, from the very beginning, has been English. No religious education was given to her. Her parents encourage and guide her but never impose their wishes regarding her career. Priya considers education not only important for career but also for general awareness as well as for understanding the things in right perspective. She feels that uneducated people are unaware of their rights and, generally, people and even their parents do not respect them. When she compared herself with other uneducated girls of her age group in the same locality she finds that they don't have general awareness and understanding. They wear heavy jewellery, cosmetics and imitate the dress pattern and hair styles of educated and upper class in order to show that they, too, are educated and belong to upper class. These girls are not encouraged by their parents to receive education while their brothers are forced to study. Still, girls are more educated than their brothers but their educational qualification is not given any importance by their parents.

Priya feels that education and subsequent employment is essential, specially for women so that they could face any eventuality that might surface in future. Initially her aim was to opt the career of a doctor or teacher but now she wants to become either Bank Manager or Chartered Accountant. She did not tell the exact reason

for changing her aim but, somehow, she realised that commerce has a wider scope in comparison to Science now a days. Besides, it offers more job opportunities. She wants to marry after getting a suitable job and she is sure that her parents specially father wouldnot force her in this regard. She wishes that her husband should be open minded and have common views and interest. Besides, education and prestigious job are also necessary qualities that he must possess. She wants to meet her husband, before giving her consent or approval for setting matrimonial proposal, in order to judge his personality. Her parents will allow for the same but, she feels, they would not allow frequent courting. She wants her husband's help in household chores in future.

She would try to avoid inter-caste and inter-religious marriages. In general, she favours widow and divorcee remarriages and firmly opposes child marriages.

Priya offers 'pooja' occasionally and observes 'vrat' twice a year with her mother. He recites 'Ramayan' only during the 'yag' with other family members and relatives. She never attends 'keertan' and 'satsang'. She does not believe in 'mannat' and, visiting 'dargah'. She wants to go for 'teerth yatra' with an aim to visit the places.

Priya is often consulted by her parents while taking any important decisions. She goes for shopping with her mother. She is not allowed to go for shopping, cinema or restaurants with her friends as her parents, specially mother, considers her too young. She visits cinema and restaurants with her parents occasionally. Her leisure time activities are listening music, / watching television and reading science magazines and adventures books. She feels that most part of income should be spent on education, food and clothing. She does not want luxury items but she wants those items which are necessarily needed for her.

Priya speaks English mix Urdu. She regularly reads English newspaper, and watches serial, cartoon films on television. She prefers to wear skirt and top for all occasions and sometimes she wears 'shalwar-suit'. She rarely uses cosmetics and jewellery. Though she likes eating sitting on the floor but, like other family members, she usually eats sitting at the dining table and chairs. She is a non-vegetarian but, now, prefers vegetarian and tasty dishes. She takes interest in discussing political affairs and wants to exercise her right to vote independently.



CASE NO. 2

II generation Mr. Sharma - Head of the family,  
Lecturer in school of  
Optometry.

Mrs. Sharma - Orthopoist in Eye  
Hospital.

III generation Ravi - Son (Engineer)

Sanjay - Son (Student)

Mamta - Daughter (Student)

Family Income - Above Rs. 10,000/- per month

Residence - Government staff quarters  
of Eye Hospital.  
Ramghat Road, Aligarh.

Government staff quarters, moderate in size, consisting of drawing room, bed room, living room, varandah, House was neat and arranged with simple furniture and art objects.

Mr. Sharma's nuclear family includes his wife, two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. They reside in a government staff quarter of an Eye Hospital. The house was neat and clean though moderate in size.

Mr. Sharma in his fifties, a serious and helping gentleman, is working as a lecturer in School of Optometry in the Eye Hospital. He responded to the questions quite comfortably.

His father and mother were born in Sabdalpur village U.P., His father studied upto 5th class in a Hindi medium school. His mother/studied upto 2nd class. Mr. Sharma explained the lack of education of his parents in terms of the lack of proper guidance from his grandparents. His parents were sent to school but no specific attention was given to their education. Once they left the school and their names were cancelled from school, no efforts were made to get them readmitted. His father had no occupational goals or ambition and he followed the traditional family occupation of land cultivation. His mother also was not encouraged for further studies because, those days, girls were sent to school not with specific goals but only to make them literate.

Mr. Sharma's parents' marriage was arranged by their parents and the main consideration was caste and family background. His parents did not see each other before marriage. At the time of marriage his father and mother were 18 and 13 year of age respectively. His mother's early marriage was in line with the trend of

marrying the girls at a younger age because they were not preoccupied with anything and it was customary for parents to marry them as early as possible. Widow and divorcee remarriages were not practised those days and inter-caste<sup>↑</sup> and inter-religious marriages were firmly disapproved.

So far as observance of religious practices are concerned, Mr. Sharma's parents, in his own words, were 'Orthodox'. That is to say they were very regular in observing religious rituals including daily two times 'pooja', 'vrat', 'daan', reciting 'Ramayan' and 'Geeta' and attending 'keeratan' and 'satsang' regularly. They had a deep faith in these rituals. They believed in the power of 'mannat' and often visited 'dargah'. They wanted to go for 'teerth yatra' but could not. His mother observed veil and rules of avoidance in the presence of her in-laws and other relatives.

There was a complete division of labour between his father and mother. His father was responsible for earning bread and managing different outside chores. His mother was responsible for doing household chores. His father never helped his mother in household chores nor did she want his help. The authority of taking important decisions rested in the hand of his father. His mother did not consider herself to be capable of taking any

decisions. Besides doing her household work she was busy in gossiping with her neighbour friends /and sometimes she would take rest. His father was mostly engaged in his agricultural work. There was lack of communication between father and children specially daughters.

A larger part of income was spend on food. No newspapers and magazines was subscribed to the family. Both parents used to speak in Hindi. His father used to wear 'dhoti-kurta' at home and outside home. His mother used to wear 'saree' only. She used jewellery and cosmetics at functions and sometimes light jewellery at home also.

Mr. Sharma's parents never visited restaurants. Both of them were pure vegetarian and they did not have even onions. They were used to have their meal sitting on the floor without using spoons and forks.

Neither his father nor mother were politically aware. His father's political participation was limited to casting his vote according to his own choice or on advice of his friends or relatives while his mother casted her vote on advise of her husband.

Mr. Sharma was born in Sabdalpur and received his primary education there from a Hindi medium school. He stayed /at his sister's in-law's place and after that in a rented room in Moradabad for completing his further

studies. Finally he did his graduation and optometry course and training from Aligarh where the medium of instructions was English. His educational qualifications are result of his own efforts. His parents, though wanted him to be educated, never guided him. They were not much concerned with his educational pursuit. They just wanted him to pass one class from another. No specific religious education was given to him.

Mr. Sharma wanted to become doctor or engineer but due to his parent's poor financial condition and lack of proper guidance he could not manage to do so. Now he is not much satisfied with his profession. He wishes that it would be better if he would has been a doctor or engineer.

Mr. Sharma joined service in Etawa where he met his would be wife who came to his office along with her mother for some work. Gradually Mr. Sharma developed close family relations with them. Later on, the girl's mother and relatives proposed a matrimonial alliance to which Mr. Sharma and his parents agreed. As such it was an arranged marriage /but they knew each other before marriage. Caste and family background were also taken into account in arranging their marriage. He got married at the age of 25.

Mr Sharma believes that marriages should be arranged by parents in consultation with their children by taking into account caste, family background and

educational and occupational level as important factors. However, he may consider inter-caste marriages for his children if they so desire firmly. But he won't allow them for inter-religious marriages because of the cultural and religious differences between marriage partners which may create disturbances or even breakdown of marital bond as one's religious beliefs and ideas become so established that it becomes very difficult to change in accordance with other. He believes that caste differences are much less than religious differences. He does not oppose widow and divorcee remarriages but he is against child marriage.

Mr. Sharma has a strong faith in God but he does not perform rituals and is against idol worship. He daily sits on floor and prays to God. Besides paying respect to God the main idea behind it is to concentrate on one thing which provide mental peace and help relieve tensions. He sometimes observed 'vrat' from the point of view of health. He visits the temple occasionally, and never visits 'dargah'. He attends 'keertan' and 'satsang' for mental peace and social purposes. He believes in the power of 'mannat' because of his childhood experiences which strengthened his faith in power of 'mannat'. He has a desire for 'teerth yatra' for visiting there.

In Mr. Sharma's family husband and wife jointly take decisions and often consult their children. They

have joint account and education of children is given importance while spending money. He encourages and guides his children regarding their career. He often helps his wife in household chores. He rarely visits cinema halls and restaurants.

Mr. Sharma usually speaks in pure Hindi. Both Hindi and English newspapers are subscribed in his family. He regularly reads both English and Hindi newspaper. He watches Informative programmes, news and sometimes serials on television. He wears 'pant-shirt' at his work place and 'kurta-pajama' at home. He utilises his leisure time in reading books and magazines. He is pure vegetarian and feels comfortable to have meals sitting on the floor but spoons are used for eating. He is politically aware and casts his vote independently.

Mr. Sharma's wife Shanti is the 42 years old, confident career woman. She was dressed up in a gown after returning from work place. She was looking tired but she cooperated and tried to answer the questions put to her. She is working as an orthopoist in the Eye Hospital where her husband is also employed.

Mrs. Shanti was born in Etawa. She passed Intermediate from Hindi medium. She wanted to become a doctor. Her parents specially her father also encouraged her to achieve her goal. But when she was doing Intermediate, unfortunately, her father died. And her

father's death resulted in worsening of financial condition of family as well as creating problems or disturbances in her further studies as her mother wanted to relieve off her obligation at earliest. Mrs. Shanti wanted to continue her education but her mother convinced her to marry.

She was married at 16. She met her husband before marriage. He often used to come to her home as he developed family terms. But her marriage was arranged by her mother, in consultation with herself, on the basis of caste, educational and occupational level and personality of her husband. It appeared during the course of interview that widow and divorcee remarriages were not in practice and people, those days, including, her mother, were against inter-religious and even inter-caste marriages. But Mrs. Shanti has no objection for widow and divorcee remarriages. She can allow her children for inter-caste marriage if they desire so firmly. But she won't allow them for inter-religious marriages. While presenting her views on inter-religious marriages she seemed quite conscious about the feelings of the researcher. Keeping in mind researcher's Muslim identity, she added that during her childhood she studied in a 'madarsa', which was situated in front of her house, with her muslim neighbour's / children. Her father sent her to the 'madarsa. Moreover, her father had many muslim



friends and her best friends were also Muslims. She had no hesitation in sharing food and other things with them yet she does not approve inter-religious marriages due to vast cultural differences not due to any communal attitudes or feelings towards Muslims.

Mrs. Shanti continued her education after marriage due to her husband's constant encouragement and help. She did her B.Sc. and training course and joined service as orthopoist after the birth of her two children. Her husband encouraged her to continue her education and to take up job. In order to supplement her husband's income and to become financially independent she joined service. Though she is satisfied with her job but sometimes feels herself unable to look after her children and household chores because after returning from her work place she feels tired.)

She is not very regular in observing religious rituals sometimes due to shortage of time. She observes 'pooja' for mental peace and to pay respect to God. She observes 'vrat' for reasons of health and gives 'Daan' on festivals from religious point of view as well as to help needy people. She sometimes attends 'keertan' and 'Satsang' but doesn't arrange such meetings in her own home because she has not time. She does not believe in 'mannat' and does not visit 'dargah'. She wants to go for 'teerth yatra' to visit the places.

She has joint bank account with her husband and she is free to spend joint income according to her own choice. Her husband often helps her in household chores and her children including her sons also help her. She observes veil in the presence of her in-laws and close relatives and does not talk to her father-in-law and brother-in-law directly, but she does not observe veil at her work place and while going outside home.

Mrs. Sharma speaks in Hindi and sometimes uses some Urdu words. She reads newspaper but not very regularly. She is a pure vegetarian and feels comfortable sitting on the floor. She wears saree while going outside home and wears mostly gown at home. She uses jewellery and cosmetics only in functions.

She has no interest in political affairs but she cast her vote according to her own choice.

Mrs. and Mr. Sharma's son Ravi, a 25 years old serious looking gentleman, was born in Amroha. His primary schooling began in a Hindi medium school in Aligarh. His parent's financial position, that time, did not allow him to take admission in an English medium school. They tried to get him admitted to an English medium school in 8th class where school administration wanted him to be admitted in class 7th but his parents did not want to waste one year. Therefore, he studied upto 12th class in Government college where medium of instructions was Hindi. He got selected in

B.Sc. engineering entrance test and joined A.M.U. for obtaining the degree. Now he is an engineer and working in Delhi and is satisfied with his profession because it was the target he strived for. His parents wanted him to be a doctor but keeping in view his own interest and aim they did not force him and encouraged for whatsoever he wished. No religious education was given to him.

He wanted to marry only after getting a suitable job. Now he is settled satisfactorily and his parents are looking for a suitable match for him. In addition to his parent's expectations, Ravi wants his wife to be essentially a career woman. He refused many proposals where the girl was educated but was unemployed. On the other hand, he believes that one must marry, specially girls, at a certain age and career is of secondary importance for girls. Therefore he wants his sister to marry, if suitable match is available, and then to continue her pursuit of education after marriage. Though he encourages his sister regarding her career, yet gives prime importance to marriage. However, he would not force his sister to marry if she does not want. Ravi opposes child marriages and approves widow and divorcee remarriages. Keeping in view his parents attitudes towards inter-caste and inter-religious marriages he would like to avoid these marriages.

Ravi is not regular in observing religious customs. He sometimes observes 'pooja' and rarely observe 'vrat'. He is oriented towards, these practices religiously as well as scientifically. He rarely attends 'keertan' and 'satsang' due to shortage of time and lack of keen interest. He wants to go for 'teerth yatra to visit only. He does not want his wife to observe veil but, if his parents want it, he will expect her to observe veil in the presence of his father and other close relatives. His parents, unlike his grand parents, do not want their daughter-in-law to observe veil strictly but to pay respect to them. He often helps his sister and mother in household chores when required and will help his wife also. //

Ravi wants to give priority to education, clothing and food while spending family income. He utilises his leisure time in reading newspaper, magazines and listening music. Among television programmes he likes watching news, sports, musical programmes. He visits cinema and restaurants very often. He usually speaks in Hindi with English words. He is a non-vegetarian and likes having meals on table chairs with spoons. But his family does not have dining table and chairs. He uses sofa and centre table for eating. He wears 'pant-shirt' outside home and at home he wears 'kurta-pajama' and half pant. He is politically aware and cast his vote independently.

Ravi's sister Mamta is a simple, jolly natured girl of twenty. She was born in Amroha but she obtained her primary education from an English medium school in Aligarh. She continued her pursuit of education upto 10th class in a Hindi medium school because it was near to her home. She got admitted in women's college in order to become an internal student from where she passed Intermediate. She wanted to be highly educated and to be in respectable job so that she could have her own identity and financial independence. She was inspired by her mother who is independent and has her own identity. As a result of her own interest and constant encouragement from parents she has succeeded, to some extent, in her pursuit. She is a B.Sc. engineering third year student in Aligarh Muslim University. She wants to marry after completing her education. Though her parents' and brothers wants her to marry if suitable match is available but they won't force her if she does not want. High educational and occupational level, simple and impressive personality and caring nature are some of the qualities/she wants her would be husband to possess. she wants to meet her husband before marriage. She feels slight discrimination in her parents attitudes regarding marriage of their sons and daughter. Her brothers have been allowed to select their marriage partner and get approved by parents and that is not allowed for her. Mamta approves widow and divorcee remarriages and inter-caste

marriages but does not favour inter-religious marriages.

She offers 'pooja', due to religious faith, occasionally but observes 'vrat' once a week regularly thinking that it keeps oneself healthy. She attends 'keertan' and 'satsang' occasionally when neighbours or relatives invite her. As such she is not much interested in attending these functions. She does not believe in 'mannat' and never visited 'dargah'. She wants 'teerth yatra' to visit different places and to gain peace./

Mamta wants that a large part of income should be spent on education housing and clothing. She utilises her leisure time in cooking, painting, reading magazines. She reads English newspaper daily. She usually speaks in Hindi using words, phrases and sentences of Urdu and English language.

She watches musical programmes, serials, current affair programmes and news on television.

Like her brother, she is a non-vegetarian. But both her brother and she have non-vegetarian dishes with their friends in restaurants. Mr. Sharma's children feel comfortable having meals on table chairs. They don't have dining table set. So they use sofa and centere table for eating. She sometimes visits cinemas and restaurants with friends.

She wears 'shalwar-suit' and sometimes 'jeans-top' outside home but not in the college. At home she wears 'shalwar-suit' and 'saree' on only festive occasions. She uses jewellery and make up in functions. /

She is politically aware and sometimes discusses political affairs with her friends. She casts her vote according to her own choice.

### CASE NO. 3

I generation	Mr. Zaidi's mother	- Occasionally lives with Mr. Zaidi.
II generation	Mr. Zaidi	- Head of the family, Professor.
	Mrs. Zaidi	- Housewife and Social Worker.
III generation	Shama	- Daughter (Student)
	Samad	- Son (Student)
	Family Income	- Above Rs. 10,000/- per month.
	Residence	- Medical Road, Civil Lines, Aligarh.

Owms house, moderate in size (the house is big but shared by his brother also), well arranged and decorated with fancy furniture, art objects and modern gadgets and

amenities, drawing room, separate place for eating near kitchen, bed room, living room, Varandah, reading room/library, small lawn etc.

Mrs. and Mr. Zaidi with their unmarried daughter and son reside in their own neat and tidy house which is moderate in size and located in civil lines, Aligarh. Mr. Zaidi's mother is alive and lives for sometimes with him and sometimes with his brother.

The head of the family, Professor Zaidi is 54 year old, decent, polite and humourous in nature. He welcomed the researcher for the interview warmly and besides answering the specific questions related to interview, provided information on other aspects also. His father was born in Lakheempur Khiri where he received his primary education. He completed his Intermediate from Lucknow and for higher education he joined Allahabad University wherefrom he completed his graduation and post graduation. He obtained his doctorate degree from Aligarh Muslim University. Besides these, he also received religious education at home. He wanted to join Indian Civil Services but, on the advice of his senior colleague took up job of a lecturer as he was very good at mathematics.

Mr. Zaidi's mother was born in Lucknow and received religious as well as some formal education at home only. Her parents died when she was quite young consequently she went to live with her aunt where no special attention was given



to her education. Moreover, education for girls was not necessary those days.

Mr. Zaidi's parents' marriage was arranged by his grandparents by taking into account family background. They did not meet each other before marriage. His father and mother were married at the age of 22 and 19 respectively. In his family, marriage outside 'khandan' were preferred. Child marriages, those days, were practised, widow and divorcee remarriages were not encouraged and inter-caste and inter-religious marriages were strongly disapproved.

His father did not offer 'namaz' regularly but his mother does it regularly. They were very regular in observing 'roza'. They paid 'zakat' regularly and wanted to go for 'haj'. Both his father and mother had deep faith in 'ijtema' and 'meelad'. But his father took very much interest in 'meelad' and frequently visited 'dargah'. His father usually took decisions himself regarding some important matters, and sometimes consulted his wife. A large part of income was spent on food, education and clothing respectively. English newspapers and English and Urdu magazines were subscribed in their family. Mr. Zaidi's father did not help his mother in household chores nor she wanted his help. Servants were there to help his mother. His mother observed purdah but when she came to stay with her sons, after the death of her husband, to Aligarh she

usually does not wear 'burqa' but covers her head while going outside the home and observes rules of avoidance.

Mr. Zaidi's father and mother were non-vegetarian and had meals both on 'dastarkhwan' and dining table and chairs.

Mr. Zaidi's father used to wear 'pant-shirt' and at the older age he mostly wore 'sherwani'. He wore 'kurta -pajama at home. /

His mother wears 'gharara' at home and outside also. She used jewellery and cosmetics in functions but now she rarely uses jewellery and cosmetics.

Mr. Zaidi's father spoke generally urdu and sometimes English. He read newspapers regularly, while Mr. Zaidi's mother speaks Urdu and is not regular in reading newspaper.

Mr. Zaidi's father often discussed political affairs but his participation in it was limited to casting his vote independently. His mother's political awareness and participation is limited to exercising her franchise on advice of her husband or children.

Mr. Zaidi received his primary as well as higher education from A.M.U. For further study he went to America and obtained his doctorate degree. His father provided him timely guidance and encouragement and advised him to undertake research. His mother also helped him in various

ways but could not guide him. He also received religious education during his childhood. He is fully satisfied with his profession. Like his father, he also encourages and guides his children in selecting a career and doesn't impose upon them his wishes. When he was planning to go to America, his family members were slightly worried thinking that he might marry there. After returning from America he got married to a girl who was selected in consultation with all his family members including his parents, brother, sister-in-law etc. He was married at 33. The reason for his late marriage was that he wanted to marry a girl which should be liked by all family members and it took a long time to find. He met his wife before marriage only once, after engagement, through his sister and it was acknowledged by his parents and his wife's mother. His father attached very much importance to consideration of good 'khandan' while arranging marriage but he did not give it much importance at that time. But with the passage of time and growing experience, Mr. Zaidi feels that his father was correct as his ideas changed in direction of his father. Though he will prefer his children to marry in a good 'khandan', yet he will allow them to marry any one if they so desired. He believes that so far as true love is concerned he won't care of religion, caste, Khandan etc. Therefore, he approves inter-religious, inter-caste marriages and will allow his children for the same if necessary. He favours widow and divorcee remarriages and dislikes child marriages.

Mr. Zaidi offers 'namaz' regularly at home but goes to mosque only on friday. He fasts and pays 'zakat' regularly. He feels that fasting and offering prayers are worthwhile from religious as well as scientific point of view as it generates qualities of discipline, punctuality, cleanliness and reduce the possibility of many diseases. He wants to go for 'haj' considering it religiously necessary as well as for visiting there. He feels, like his wife, that provision of 'Zakat' is good as it helps the poor and needy. /

He regularly attends 'meelad' but attends 'ijtema' occasionally. He has a deep faith in Prophet and believes that it is prophet who told us about the existence of God and taught us the ways which take us nearer to God. He also feels that the ways which are taught in 'ijtema' can be learnt by oneself through religious books.

Mr. Zaidi consults his wife and children while taking any important decisions but final decision depends upon him. He has joint account with his wife and a large part of income, as it was during his father's time, is spend on food and education. He is used to have 'mughlai' dishes including 'biryani', 'qorma' etc. Though his wife often prepares such dishes but the trend has, to some extent, changed from oily and spicy dishes to nutritious diet.

He usually does not help his wife in household chores except when she is sick or when he invites someone at lunch or dinner without prior consultation with his wife. He is slightly lazy and does not feel like doing work outside home also like booking the gas, withdrawing money from Bank etc. He sometimes asks his wife to do these work but his mother gets annoyed as she believes that women are responsible for household work and men for outside work.

Mr. Zaidi wears 'pant-shirt' and 'sherwani' outside the home and 'kurta-pajama' at home. He does not give much importance to clothing. His daughter suggests him how to match the dress properly. He usually speaks English mix urdu but in the department he generally speaks in English. He is non-vegetarian and feels comfortable having meal on dining table by using spoons though he can have it sitting on floor also.

He reads English newspapers daily and utilises his leisure time by reading English and Urdu literature. He rarely visits cinemas and restaurants due to inconvenience. He watches news and sometimes serials on television. He often discusses political affairs but participation in it is limited to casting vote independently.

Prof. Zaidi's wife Mrs. Yasmeen is 44 year old simple, decent and soft spoken lady. The way in which the things were arranged at her home speaks a lot about her

capability. She was dressed up in a simple/but neat cotton saree. She welcomed the researcher and responded to questions quite comfortably and willingly.

Mrs. Yasmeen was born in Lucknow. She received her religious education from 'madarsa' in Gorakhpur. Her primary schooling was in Lucknow and she did her graduation and post graduation from A.M.U. She wanted to continue her pursuit of education to become a career woman but her mother convinced her to marry. She was married at the age of 23. She obtained her M.Phil degree from A.M.U. after marriage. Her husband's whole hearted cooperation enabled her to achieve this goal. Both husband and wife are favourable for women's occupation. She tried to find suitable job but could not. She taught in a primary school for one year in order to make her son feel comfortable in school as he was unable to adjust himself into new environment. She encourages her children to study but let them choose their career independently.

Though her marriage was an arranged one, she met her husband only once before marriage through her sister-in-law and it was acknowledged by her mother./She believes that she will certainly consult her children while arranging their marriages. Instead of giving importance to caste, she gives priority to similarity of thoughts and culture of marriage partners, education and respectable job. Since she believes that common interest and culture of marriage

partners are conducive for leading a happy married life therefore. she does not want her children to marry in other religion, but keeping in view their desire she will allow them. She is against child marriages and favours widow and divorcee remarriages. Though she is a housewife she utilises her leisure time in social work. She has joined 'Aligarh Modern School for Women and Girl's Education' where girls and women are given primary education and are trained in some handicraft works. In addition, she does her best in helping needy and poor people. She is satisfied with her life as a housewife. What irritates her is people's negative attitude towards housewives i.e. Generally people give much significance and respect to career women.

Mrs. Yasmeen is very regular in observing rituals including 'namaz', 'roza', 'zakat' and believes that besides religious significance attached to the rituals, these are worthwhile from point of view of health, and discipline. She wants to go for 'Haj' from religious point of view as well as for purpose of visiting there. She attends 'meelad', not 'ijtema', regularly and sometimes arrange it at home also. She does not observe purdah before or after marriage.

Her husband does not usually help her in household chores, part time servants are there to help her. She

rarely visits cinema and restaurants.

She usually wears 'saree' and sometimes 'shalwar-suit' at home. She uses jewellery and cosmetics only in functions. She is a non-vegetarian and gives much importance to nutritious diet. She feels comfortable eating on dining table. She usually speaks in English mix Urdu. She reads English news paper regularly and watches news and serials on television. She is politically aware and exercises her right to vote independently.

Mrs. and Mr. Zaidi's daughter Shama is a simple and and well behaved girl of nineteen who responded to researcher's questions quite comfortably. She was born at Aligarh and studied in English medium schools. She completed her Intermediate from women's college A.M.U. and now she is student of M.B.B.S. I year. She also received religious education at home. She selected the career of a doctor to serve humanity and also due to her keen interest in knowing different parts and functioning of human body. Her parents always encouraged her and specially she gets inspiration from her uncle who is a doctor. She consider education a necessary thing for leading a complete life. She wants to marry only after completing her education and having a job. She wants to meet her fiance before marriage so that she can get to know him before marriage to be her marriage partner. She is firm in her belief that one should marry



within his own religion. She wishes that her husband should be educated, in a respectable job; and have similar interest and views like those of her. She would like to take her husband's help in household chores. She does not like child marriage and favours widow and divorcee remarriages.

She is religiously as well as scientifically oriented towards observing rituals including 'namaz', 'roza' regularly. She believes that apart from religious necessity it brings discipline and keep oneself healthy.

She often recites 'Quran' and wants to go for 'haj'. She likes and enjoys attending 'meelad' and visiting 'dargah'. She does not observe purdah and is allowed to shop alone or with her friends. She gives priority to education, food and clothing when spending family income. She utilises her leisure time by listening music, reading novels and magazines, painting and watching television. She regularly reads English newspaper. She rarely goes to cinemas and restaurants. She speaks in English mix Urdu at home and English at college. Usually she wears 'shalwar-suit'. She wears 'saree' and uses cosmetics and jewellery only in functions. She is a non-vegetarian; likes tasty food; and feels comfortable having meals on dining table with spoons.

She is politically aware but wants to exercise her vote on advice of her parents.

Shama's brother Samad, a student of 11th class, is a 16 year old serious and confident boy. He was born and studied in Aligarh upto 8th class in English medium school. Keeping in view his great desire to study in Delhi his parents send him to Delhi at his aunt's place where he studied upto High School. His parents specially father did not want to send him to Delhi considering him too young and wanted to get him enrolled in the Aligarh Muslim University as an internal student, but on his request he was sent to Delhi for two years. After that he himself returned and continued his studied at Aligarh. The years he spent in Delhi greatly influenced his ideas and behaviour and made him much more independent and confident than ever before. He received religious education at home. His parents specially father guide and encourage him and he is influenced by his father's attitudes. He used the words "Abba Kehte Hain" so many times during the course of interview. He wants to become an engineer and wants to marry after having a job. He wants to get married by selecting his marriage partner himself with parental approval. He can marry to a girl selected by his parents provided he must be allowed to meet her before marriage as similarity in views and interests of marriage partners and educational level figure as priorities, in his view, in spouse selection. He is against child marriages and favours

widow and divorcee remarriages and even inter-religious marriages.

He offers 'namaz' occasionally and is very irregular in observing 'roza' due to laziness at the time of 'sehri'. He recites 'Quran',<sup>on</sup> 'juma' and wants to go for 'haj' from religious point of view. He attends 'meelad' at home forcibly and often visits 'dargah'. He neither wants his sister nor his wife to observe purdah and favours women working outside home including both his sister and would-be-wife. He often helps his mother and sometimes his sister in household chores and is willing to help his wife also.

He wants to spend a large part of income on education, food and clothing. He utilises his leisure time in playing games, reading novels and sleeping. He reads English newspaper daily and sometimes English magazines and comics. Among television programmes he watches news, sports, U.G.C. programme. He rarely goes to cinema and restaurants. He usually speaks in English mix Urdu at home and English at school. He wears 'pant-shirt' outside and 'kurta-pajama', shirts, T-shirt at home. He prefers wearing jeans though his father does not like it. He tries to avoid it before his father. He is a non-vegetarian, likes tasty food and feels comfortable having meals on dining table by using spoons and forks.

Samad watches television and reads newspaper in order to be aware of political happenings in the country. He often discusses political affairs and wants to cast his vote independently.

CASE NO. 4

II generation	Mr. Farooqui	- Head of the family, Research Scientist in Saudi Arabia.
	Mrs. Farooqui	- Housewife, performs the role of Head of the family in absence of her husband.
III generation	Naved	- Son (Reader)
	Javed	- Son (Student)
	Ruby	- Daughter (Student)
Family income		- Above Rs. 10,000/- per month.
Residence		- Sir Syed Nagar, Aligarh.

Owns house, large in size, neat and clean, well arranged and decorated with fancy furniture, modern gadgets and luxury items including a Car.

Drawing room, Dining room, bed rooms, varanda, living room, lawn etc.

Mr. Farooqui's family includes his wife, two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. The family resides in a big house in Sir Syed Nagar, Aligarh, which is well arranged and decorated with fancy items.

Mr. Farooqui is the head of the family. In his absence his wife performs the role of the head of the family. Because Mr. Farooqui is working as, research scientist in Saudi Arabia and visits his family in India occasionally. In his absence his wife looks after her home and children.

Mr. Farooqui is a 52 year old humorous gentleman who responded to the questions willingly. His parents belonged to the prosperous families of Ghazipur. His father, after completing Intermediate from an English medium joined the service as police Inspector. When asked why his father did not go in for higher education, he explained that the teaching standard was so high that one could say that it was equivalent to the present day post graduation. He said "Us waqt yahi higher education hota tha. Bohot kam log Intermediate kar pate the." His mother was literate but never went to school. The reason for his mother's lack of education was explained in terms of general pattern of ignorance and discouraging attitudes towards women education. Mr. Farooqui said "Aurten Kahan padhti thee us

waqt. Hamari walda ne thoda bohot ghar par hee padha tha". (Women were not used to study those days. My mother received some education at home). His father received religious education from 'madarsa' while his mother received both religious and some primary education at home. She did not have any occupational goals.

Family background was main consideration while arranging Mr. Farooqui's parent's marriage. His mother was of 16 year and father was of 20 year at the time of marriage. Their marriage was arranged by their parents and they did not see each other before marriage.

Though both parents had a deep faith in their religion and observed religious practices regularly, his mother was more regular than his father. She recited 'Quran' daily. Both of them went for 'haj'. They used to attend 'meelad' and 'ijtema' for social purpose that is to say they had to attend such functions if got invited by others. They also arranged such functions at home for the same reason. They did not believe in 'mannat'. They sometime visited 'dargah' to visit and to pray also. His mother observed purdah strictly as it was firmly practised those days. She also observed rules of avoidance in presence of in-laws and other close relatives.

His father, being Head of the family, used to take important decisions at his own and sometimes in consultation with his sons. Priority was given to

✓expenditure on food and the second consideration, while spending money, was education. His father often invited his friends/guests at lunch or dinner. Usually, gents were served meal first and ladies ate afterwards. His father was not concerned with household chores. Servants were there to do these work or to help his mother in managing household chores. His mother/used to be busy in managing household chores. She used her leisure time in reading Urdu magazines, gossiping with her neighbour friends and sleeping. His father was more regular in reading newspaper than his mother. His father spoke in English mix Urdu and his mother's language of communication was Urdu. Both of them were non-vegetarian and meals was served both on 'takht' and table-chairs depending upon the situation, that is to say, mostly guests and male members were served their meals on table and chairs. Otherwise family members used to have meals mostly on 'takht'.

Apart from his police uniform, Mr. Farooqui's father wore 'sherwani' outside the home and 'kurta-pajama' at home. His mother used to wear usually 'gharara' and sometimes 'shalwar-suit' at home. She sometimes wore 'saree' other than 'gharara' in functions. She/used jewellery and cosmetics occasionally. Both parents did not visit cinema and restaurants. Both of them were not much politically aware and rarely discussed political affairs. They used to cast their vote independently.

Mr. Farooqui was born in Allahabad. As his father was in a transferable job, he studied upto 12th in Azamgarh where medium of instruction was English. He obtained his M.Sc. degree from Allahabad University. Besides formal education he received religious education also. His parents encouraged him in his pursuit of education. Now he is working as a research scientist in Saudi Arabia and is satisfied with his job but miss his family members a lot.

His marriage was arranged by his parents in consultation with him by taking into account family background as determining factor but he did not meet his wife before marriage. He was married at 22 year of age. He considers family background, educational level and nature of the person as determining factor/in arranging marriage. He dislikes child marriages, approves widow and divorcee remarriage and doesnot favour inter-religious marriages due to cultural differences which may hinder happy married life. He gives much importance to family background (socio-economic background) than his own caste. Though he prefers marriages within his own caste (Sheikh) yet he approves marriage/alliance within four Muslim upper castes (Sayyad, Sheikh, Mughal, Pathan), not in any other caste.

Mr. Farooqui is irregular in observing 'namaz' but very regular in obsrving 'roza' and paying 'zakat' (impost). He went for 'haj' also. He perform these observances considering them as religiously necessary. He



does not attend 'ijtema'. He recites 'Quran' daily with translation. He sometimes attends 'meelad' for social purposes. He sometimes visit 'dargah' and does't believe in 'mannat'.

Important decisions in family are taken jointly in consultation with his wife and children. When he is out of the station, his wife play the role of the head of the family and takes decision in consultation with her children.

Mr. Farooqui though wants his sons and daughter to be highly educated and encourages them for the same yet does not want his daughter to work outside home. His wife is a graduate but he does not want her to pursue any occupation either outside or inside home. He said "what is the need for them to work(wife and daughter) when I am here to earn and to make them feel comfortable". He often helps his wife in household chores though some part-time servants are there to help her. Larger part of income is spent on education and decorating house. / He rarely visits cinema and restaurants.

His family subscribesto Urdu and English newspaper. He reads newspaper daily and watches news and current affair programmes on television. He uses his leisure time in shopping for family members (in Arab).

He usually speaks in Urdu and sometimes English. He wears 'pant-shirt' outside home and 'kurta-pajama' at home. He is a non-vegetarian and have mealson table and chairs by using spoons.

He is very much interested in discussing political affairs and votes independently.

Mr. Farooqui's wife Shazia in her fifties is a simple and serious looking housewife. She already knew the pattern of questions the researcher was going to ask. She respondend quite comfortably.

Mrs. Shazia was born in Ghazipur. She studied there upto 12th class in an Urdu medium school. She did her graduation from Hindi medium.

Besides formal education she also received religious education at home during the early years of her life. She did not have any occupational goals because her parents were not favourable for women's work outside home due to family prosperity. She studied upto B.A. for the sake of knowledge, and not to remain uneducated. She wanted to continue her education but her parents got her married at the age of 20. They took into account the family background and educational and occupational level of her husband. She didn't met her husband before marriage. After getting married, like her parents, her husband did not

encourage her to go in for higher education and for pursuing a career as he wanted her wife just to be educated and not to work outside home. She herself did not take much interest in pursuing a career. Now she is satisfied with her life as a housewife. She feels satisfied managing her household chores. She herself does not has to do much work as part-time servants are there. / Moreover, her daughter and sometimes her sons and husband help her when necessary. She used to observe purdah before marriage but her husband has been helpful in making her rid off of purdah. She usually does not observe purdah but at her home town and at in-laws place she observe purdah and observes rules of avoidance.

Mrs. Shazia does not give much importance to specific caste (Sayyed, Sheikh, Mughal, Pathan) but to family background in settling marriage. Though she prefers marriages in one's own caste but she will allow inter-caste marriages if suitable family background, high educational and occupational level is there. She approves widow and divorcee remarriages and is against child marriage. She does not approve inter-religious marriages due to cultural differences. /

Mrs. Shazia observes 'namaz' and 'roza' regularly and pays 'zakat' considering it religiously necessary. She went for 'haj'. She does not believe in 'mannat' and often

visits 'dargah' for visiting only. She attends 'meelad' often but not 'ijtema'.

Mrs. Shazia has an independent Bank account. Her husband takes decision jointly with her and often consults their children. She encourages her children for obtaining education and wants her sons, not daughter, in a respectable job. She uses her leisure time in talking to her children, reading Urdu magazines and newspaper and watching television. She watches films, musical programmes and sometimes news on television. She speaks Urdu. She wears 'saree' and sometimes 'shalwar-suit' at home. She uses jewellery and cosmetics only in functions. /

She is a non-vegetarian and have meals on table and chairs by using spoons. She sometimes takes interest in discussing political affairs but casts her vote on advise of her husband or children.

Mrs. and Mr. Farooqui's son Mr. Naved, a 27 year old serious looking gentleman, is working as a reader in Delhi. He was born in Kanpur and studied in an English medium school upto 8th class and continued his higher education at Aligarh. He did his Ph.D. from A.M.U. He was also given religious education at home.

Naved's parents encouraged him for pursuing higher education. They provided him proper guidance was never

forced him in selecting his career-He is fully satisfied with his job. He prefers arranged marriage but wants to see and talk to his wife before marriage. However, if there is no possibility of talking to her he will be ready for marriage. He wishes that his would be wife should be educated and perfect in household chores. He does not prefer career women. However, he will not mind in case she is working. He is against child marriages, inter-religious marriages and has no objection on widow and divorcee remarriage.

Mr. Naved is not very regular in offering 'namaz' but observes 'roza' regularly from religious point of view. He sometimes recites 'Quran'. He rarely attends 'ijtema' and 'meelad'. He wants to go for 'haj' considering it religiously desirable. He does not force his sister to observe purdah and he would not force his wife to observe purdah. He usually speaks Urdu and sometimes English. He wears 'pant-shirt' outside and 'kurta-pajama' inside home. He feels that a substantial part of income should be spent on food, education and clothing. He gives much importance to tasty and spicy food. He is a non-vegetarian and have meals on table and chairs.

Mr. Naved reads English newspaper. He uses his leisure time in listening to music, watching television and, sometimes, helping his mother and sister in managing

household chores whenever his help is needed. He would help his wife also whenever needed. He often visits cinema and restaurants.

He is politically aware but he is not very regular in casting his vote for want of time as he has to come to Aligarh from Delhi for it.

Miss Ruby is a 24 year old, good looking and polite girl. She welcomed the researcher and responded quite comfortably.

Ruby was born in Kanpur where she obtained her primary schooling in an English medium school. She continued her education at Aligarh. She obtained her M.Sc. degree from A.M.U. and now she is doing computer course. Her parents encouraged her for higher education as they feel no discrimination between their sons and daughter with regard to educational pursuit. But they do not want their daughter to pursue occupation outside home. They feel that there is no need for her to work as she belongs to a prosperous family. However, they never discourage her for pursuing higher education. Ruby herself does not want to be a career woman. She is studying just to get herself highly educated so that she can manage her personal as well as household works confidently, efficiently and comfortably.

Ruby wants her marriage to be arranged by her parents. She wants to see her husband before marriage but does not want to talk to him. She expects that her parents, too, would not allow her to do so. Some important qualities that she wants her husband to possess are simplicity, high educational level and sound family background. She has no objection for inter-caste marriage because she gives much importance to socio-economic background of family rather than to caste. But she is against inter-religious marriages due to vast cultural differences. She is against child marriages and favours widow and divorcee remarriages.

Ruby is not very regular in offering 'namaz' but observes 'roza' regularly and religiously. Sometimes she recites 'Quran'. She visits 'dargah' for visiting only. She often attends 'meelad' but she rarely goes to attend 'ijtema'. She went for 'haj'. She does not observe purdah except at her father's birth place and in Saudi Arabia.

Ruby's priorities for spending money are education, food, clothing and housing. She is allowed to shop alone. Like her brothers, she talks freely to her parents and her views are also given importance while taking any important decision on family matters. She spends her leisure time in listening to music, cooking, embroidery and sleeping. She often visits restaurants and movies. She rarely reads

newspapers and magazine, she feels like watching musical programmes on television. She rarely listens to news. She usually speaks Urdu but sometimes uses English words and sentences while talking. She wears 'shalwar-suit' both inside and outside home. She wears 'saree' on festive occasions. She uses some jewellery and cosmetics at home and outside home. She is a non-vegetarian and uses table-chairs and spoons for eating. Though she is non-vegetarian, she prefers vegetarian and nutritious diet.

She does not discuss political affairs. Her political unawareness results in reducing her interest in exercising her right to vote.

#### CASE No. 5

II generation Mr. Gupta - Head of the family, Runs a departmental store.

II generation Mrs. Gupta - Housewife

III generation Suman - Daughter (Student)

Ariand - Son (Student)

Gaurav - Son (Student)

Family Income - Around Rs. 5000/- per month

Residence Rambagh Colony, Aligarh.



Rented house, modest in size, nat very clean and well arranged. Drawing room with sofa set, centre table, casette player, T.V. and some art objects and prizes won by Suman, one living cum bed room and small varanda.

The Guptas reside in a modest rented house in the Rambagh colony area of Aligarh city. Their small nuclear family consists of five members i.e. Mrs. and Mr. Gupta and their two unmarried sons and one daughter.

Mr. Gupta is the 'Head' of the family. This 46 year old, short, fair complexioned person is a soft spoken gentleman who runs a departmental store in Aligarh.

Mr. Gupta was a little worry at the begining of the interview, but after some time he was relaxed and talked with ease about his father who was born in village Pandrawal district Bulandshahr. His mother was born in the village Bargadpur of the same district. Both the older Guptas were illiterate and did not obtain any specific religious education. Explaining the lack of education, Mr. Gupta told that education was not considered important those days especially in rural areas. His grandparents were, too, illiterate. The lack of education prevented his grand parents from encouraging his parents to go in for education. Since the family owned a small piece of land, cultivation was of primary

importance as it was their only source of income.

The marriage alliance of Mr. Gupta's parents was arranged on traditional lines. That is, the marriage was an 'arranged' one and strictly endogamous. The vast difference between the age of his mother (14 years) and father (38 years) at the time of marriage was explained in terms of the importance of family background which was the essential criterion for selection of marriage partner.

Mr. Gupta's father's late marriage was attributed to unfortunate circumstances of the early demise of his parents, and he, being the eldest son, had to look after his brothers and sisters. The reason for early marriage of his mother was in tune with the norms of the day when girls were married off at a very tender age. The remarriage of widows and divorcee women was also considered bad.

Initially, Mr. Gupta's father did not have any educational and occupational goals and was fully satisfied with his life. But with passage of time he realised the need for education of his sons though, unfortunately, he was unable to provide guidance necessary for such a task. He paid no attention to his daughter's education. Mr. Gupta's mother was a housewife. She easily adopted the role of wife and mother for which

she was prepared from childhood. She didn't have any educational or occupational goals either. She was traditionally suited to her situation and observed, the rules of avoidance in the presence of her in-laws and close relatives but she moved freely outside home. She worked with her husband at fields after finishing her household chores.

Prayers, 'vrat' or 'teerth yatra' were never part of Mr. Gupta's parents life perhaps due to lack of time. They did not believe in 'mannat' and had never visited a 'dargah', 'pooja' was sometimes performed by his mother but not with any regularity.

Mr. Gupta's father always took decisions regarding all important issues without consulting his wife. Later, after his father's death, his mother relied on the sons to take the major decisions. Mr. Gupta's father did not help his mother in household chores.

Most of the proportion of family income was spent on food and no spare money was available to other extra expenditure nor they realised the need for.

Mr. Gupta's father used to wear 'dhoti' and kurta' and his mother used to wear 'Saree'. Both of them were vegetarian. Much importance was given to nutritious food. They liked to have meals sitting on the floor. Both of them spoke Hindi.

Political awareness in the family was not the order of the day, though, when pressurized by neighbours they would cast their vote.

Mr.Gupta's own education was ended in class X.though he had his ambition of obtaining an engineering degree yet financial constraints and parental ignorance did not allow him to achieve the goal. He left home for the sake of education and went to Delhi where he joined service as an accountant after a frustrated attempt at studying in an English medium school. The years he spent in Delhi influenced his ideas and behaviour to a great extent. He wanted to go for higher education but could not. He came back to his home village where his mother arranged is marriage. He got married at the age of 22. After marriage he visited and stayed at different places for business and then came to Aligarh.

No discrimination was found in Mr. Gupta's attitudes towards the education and career of his son and daughter. He has allowed his children to take decision regarding their education and career according to their own choice. He also guides and helps them in selecting a career. He wants his children to be highly educated and in a respectable job. He mused that though despite his efforts he could not study yet he wants his children to be highly educated so that he could give them what he did not have.

Mr. Gupta told that marriages should be arranged by parents in consultation with the child on the basis of family background not on the basis of caste. One can marry outside caste if suitable match is not available in one's own caste. Inter-religious marriages should be avoided, he felt, because of cultural differences and criticism by relatives and friends. He was, however, not a versed to the idea. He does not like child marriages. He had no objection to widow or divorcee remarriages.

Mr. Gupta observes religious customs including 'pooja',,, 'vrat', 'daan', reading 'Ramayan' regularly. He wants to go for 'teerth yatra'. He also believes in 'mannat' and visits 'dargah'. He attends functions such as 'satsang' and 'keertan' regularly but does not arrange such functions at home due to shortage of space. He observes these religious practices strictly from religious point of view.

Important decisions in family are taken by Mr. Gupta in consultation with children not wife. Most part of the income is spent on education and food (including nutritious items like dry fruits, milk, fruits etc, for children so that they can study well). he, rarely, helps his wife in household chores when she is sick or very much busy in work. Because he does not want her daughter, who is a heart patient, to help her mother or to do any kind of work other than studies. He uses his leisure time by reading newspapers, sleeping, and talking to his

children and wife. He has an independent Bank account. He buys all the goods necessary for home. He watches news, sports programme and current affairs programme on television.

Mr. Gupta used to wear 'pant-shirt' when he was young but now he always wears 'kurta-pajama' at home and outside home. No newspaper is subscribed in his family but he borrows Hindi newspaper and reads regularly. Usually he talks in Urdu. He is a vegetarian and likes eating on floor, not on tables and chairs.

Mr. Gupta is very much politically aware. He discusses political affairs regularly and cast his vote independently according to his own choice.

Mr. Gupta's wife Asha in her forties was born in Harduaganj district Aligarh. She had studied in a Hindi medium school upto class 8th but her mother's illness cut short her ambition for further studies. She soon found herself busy with household chores and taking care of her only brother and younger sisters. When the interviewer went to her house she found her dressed up in a 'saree' and a 'bindi' adorning her forehead and hair parting 'sindur' symbolizing her typical Hindu heritage. She had attentively listened to her husband's interview and was quite willing to respond to the questions. During the course of the interview it became apparent that there was

a vast difference between the style of conversation and pronounciation of Mrs. Gupta and her husband. Asha Gupta's language represented the typical rural diction.

Today, Asha Gupta is fully satisfied with her home life. Her whole day is spent in serving her husband and children and she feels proud to do so. But she wants both her son and daughter to be highly educated and to make a respectable career for themselves. She said "I don't want to select any particular profession for my children, but I do dream of a respectable career for them. I want my husband to be proud of his children...." Her marriage was arranged by her parents at 18 years of age. She had neither seen her husband before marriage nor had she wanted to do so. She trusted her parents completely and believed that parents are always right. Though her own marriage was arranged, yet she believes that she would consult her daughter while arranging her marriage.

Mrs. Gupta observes all rituals with great regularity. Her daily routine is to read the 'Ramayan' and 'Geeta' and perform 'pooja'. She not only attends 'keertan' and 'satsang' but also wants to arrange these at her own home. She can't arrange such functions due to shortage of space. She believes in 'mannat' but never visited a shrine. She is most respectful towards her elders and veils herself in the presence of her in-laws and close

relatives. Her husband, too, encourages and desires that she should observe veil. As an obedient wife, she always obeys his wishes which are actually her own. She, however, does not want her daughter to observe veil.

During the course of interview it became apparent that she was against child-marriages, inter-religious marriage, divorcee remarriage and widow remarriage. On the subject of widow remarriage she was firm in her belief that colourful dress and jewellery are not meant for a widow and remarriage was most undesirable. While she was averse to inter-religious marriage she had no objection to an inter-caste marriage provided that a suitable match was not available in one's own caste.

Important decisions in family are taken by her husband and she herself, does not consider herself capable of taking any decisions. She serves meals to her husband and children first and then eat alone. She is a pure vegetarian, avoiding onions, like her mother. Meals in her home are served in the traditional fashion with the family seated on the floor and eating out of a 'thali' with fingers. She does not have any interest in television or Radio. Sometimes she watches musical programmes only. She does not read newspapers. Her political awareness is limited to casting vote only on the advice of her husband.



While talking to her one becomes aware of her devotion to the service of her family as a good wife and a good mother. She had been socialised to perform the feminine roles in her adulthood.

Mrs. and Mr. Gupta's daughter Suman Gupta, is a simple talented well behaved girl of twenty. Her willingness to be interviewed stemmed from her desire to learn more about the nature of research. A student of B.Sc. final year in a local women's college she wanted to go for higher education and join research.

Suman was born in Pandrawal district Bulandshahr and moved along with her parents to Jahangirabad, and Atrauli where she studied upto 7th class through Hindi medium. Her parents finally settled in Aligarh and she has since continued her studies in Aligarh.

Suman has won many prizes in debate, poetry and essay competitions which are reflective of her intellectual capabilities. But she thinks that she could have maximised her capabilities if she had the advantage of English schooling. For her, spoken English is a necessary condition for social interaction. She has a great desire to speak in English fluently but she feels that her Hindi medium college hinders her progress. She, however, makes efforts to learn and to show that she can indeed speak English. This became apparent during the course of the interview when she interjected English words/phrases and

sentences in her conversation. The weak sentence construction and vocabulary signalled the lack of instruction in English.

She wanted to become a doctor. She said "I wanted to become anything through which I can make my parents feel happy and proud of me. I opted the career of a doctor because of the prestige and respectability associated with it and also due to the great desire to serve the humanity." Her parents encouraged her to achieve her goal. Specially her father encouraged and guided her a lot. Her mother encouraged her but never guided her because she herself did not know anything. She got selected in medical entrance test but, unfortunately, she was rejected in physical fitness test as she is a heart patient. Now her ambition is to join research and she questioned the interviewer in this regard.

She was convinced on the basis of her personal observations that women are exploited. In her own family, she felt that her mother did not share an equal status with her father. Her mother was subservient and an obedient life partner with no will of her own and yet she is satisfied with her life. Suman was rather perplexed at this situation and wondered how her parents were leading a happy married life. Though her father did not in any way, show any disrespect but her mother was

dependent on him for everything. She wondered if this was because of her low level of education. She considers education necessary for women in order to have an independent identity.

On question of marriage and career she said "marriage is not much important. Everyone gets married but everyone does not get respect in society on account of his knowledge and education. For me career is more important than marriage. I will marry only after having my own identity". She seemed dissatisfied with her neighbours. It's a Hindu locality where most of the parent's (even highly educated, doctors, engineers and businessmen) do not encourage their children specially girls for studies and even discourage them. They criticise her and say "what is the need for her to go for higher education? Get her married now". But her parents don't pay attention to them.

Suman wants to meet her fiance before marriage so that she can get to know him before selecting him to be her marriage partner. The ideal married couple for her is one who have common interests and views. Caste and family background to no figure as priorities in spouse selection. She wishes her husband to be well educated and to have a respectable occupation. She has the vision of a life partner who is more a friend and companion rather

than a dominating husband. She favours widow and divorcee remarriages, opposes child marriages, approves inter-caste marriage but likes to avoid inter-religious marriages. She is rather indifferent to religious rituals but wishes to participate in a 'teerth yatra' for the sake of a learning experience. Her visits to 'keertan' and satsang' is for social entertainment. She reads 'Geeta' and wants to follow the principles but does not like 'Ramayan' considering it only a story. She does not believe in 'mannat'.

Though her father takes important decisions in family but her advice is given very much importance. She can shop alone. She watches U.G.C. programme, news, musical programme and current affairs programmes on television. She reads newspaper daily and magazines occasionally as her family can't afford buying newspaper and magazines regularly. She borrows from others or from the library. She lied the researcher that her family subscribes a Hindi Newspaper.

She wears skirt, 'shalwar-suit' at home and 'saree' in functions. She uses jewellery and cosmetics in functions but otherwise is simply dressed.

She uses her leisure time in reading magazines, watching television, listening to music etc.

She is a vegetarian but takes egg. She likes having meal sitting on the floor with family members. She rarely goes to cinema and restaurants.

Her political awareness is apparent from the interest she takes in her local politics and her involvement in exercising her franchise.

Suman's brother Anand Gupta is an 18 years old, confident boy but was slightly hesitant to be interviewed.

He was born in Pandrawal village. He studied upto 4th class in Atrauli district Aligarh in Hindi medium school. After that his parents shifted to Aligarh where he was admitted to English medium school in 3rd class because he could not qualify the entrance test of 4th or 5th class. He studied there upto 10th class, Now he is a student of 11th class in A.M.U. He wants to continue his education for the sake of job. He prefers large scale business than service because he doesn't want to work under any authority. He wants to be independent and wants to be educated to be more capable to run his large scale business. In his view, business than service is more helpful in raising the standard of living including possession of modern luxurious items.

He wants to see and talk to his wife before marriage and the most important thing in settling

marriage, according to him, is education and beauty of his wife. He wants his wife educated but not working outside home. He said "What is the need for her to work? I will be there to work. She will manage the household work. Servants would be there to help her." He does not want to help his wife in household chores. But he helps his sister, not his mother, because she is a heart patient. He encourages his sister for her studies and career. He does not want his future wife to observe veil but to put 'pallu' on head while going outside home.

He is against child marriage but approves of widow and divorcee remarriage and even inter-religious marriages. He wants to marry outside his own caste.

He does not observe any rituals. He uses his leisure time by watching T.V., listening songs and talking. For him, most of the part of income should be spent on education, decorating home and food. He has a great desire to possess modern luxurious items. He rarely reads newspapers. He watches sports, musical programmes and news on television. Sometimes he visits cinemas and restaurants with friends. He speaks in Hindi, English, Urdu mixed.

He wears 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta-pajama' at home. He likes to have meals on table and chairs with spoons. He is non-vegetarian. His mother does not cook

non-vegetarian dishes at home but he have it at his friend's home or restaurants.

He is politically aware and discusses political affairs with his friends. And he wants to exercise his right to vote independently.

CASE NO. 6

II generation	Mr. Singh	-	Head of the family - Binder grade I in Govt. of India press.
II generation	Mrs. Singh	-	Housewife
III generation	Sudha	-	Daughter (Student)
	Sandhya	-	Daughter (Student)
	Sunil	-	Son (Student)
	Savita	-	Daughter (Student)
Family Income		-	Around Rs.5000/- per month
Residence		-	Staff quarters of government of India Press colony, Aligarh.

Small house, neat but not well arranged, no sparate drawing room and dining room, two living cum bed rooms, small varanda, courtyard, one store room.

Mrs. and Mr. Singh with their three unmarried daughters and one son reside in staff quarters of a Government of India Press.

Mr. Singh, a 46 year old serious looking gentleman, working in a Government of India Press as binder grade I. He was a keen respondent. His father and mother were born in Nagla Vihari village in Sikandrabad. His father studied upto 5th class in a Hindi medium school. The lack of his father's education was caused by his grandparents death. His grand father was a farmer. After his grandfather's death his father inherited the land and continued farming. The family never felt the need for pursuing education. His mother was illiterate. No attention was given to her education by her parents in accordance to the general trend in rural areas. His mother was satisfied with her life as a housewife and had no expectations other than those associated with the house. She was married at the age of 15 years to a man who was about 3 years older. It was a traditional Indian wedding arranged by the parents, and the bride and groom had never met before, nor had they seen each other. Caste was an important factor in spouse selection. Child marriages were prevalent and approved while widow and divorcee remarriages were rare. Inter-caste and inter-religious marriages were firmly disapproved.



Mr. Singh's parents were very regular in observing 'pooja', 'vrat', giving 'daan' and attending 'keertan' and 'satsang'. They believed in 'mannat' and often visited 'dargah'. They also went for 'teerth yatra'. Mr. Singh's mother covered her head with the traditional 'ghunghat' and observed rules of avoidance in the presence of in-laws and close relatives. She was never without her 'ghunghat' even when she went the field with farming chores.

Mr. Singh's father took all decisions with the help of his sons and wife. His wife was responsible for managing household chores as well as for spending money on household items. She also helped her husband in the field. Singh's parents had no leisure time activities to indulge in except resting at home. Their illiteracy or limited education did not allow them to read newspapers or magazines and there were no T.V. sets either. They spoke Hindi and wore the traditional clothes - 'dhoti-kurta' were the normal clothing for his father and his mother wore shirt and 'Lehnga' with 'dupatta' at home and outside her home. Jewellery was worn only at functions or festivals and no make up of any kind was used except the 'sindur'.

Mr. Singh's parents had a few servants to help them out in farming. Their services were rendered only in field and not at home.

Mr. Singh's parents spend most part of their income on food. They had meals sitting on the floor without spoons. Both were pure vegetarian.

His father sometimes took interest in discussing political affairs and casted his vote on advise of neighbours while his mother was not politically aware and exercised her right to vote on advise of her husband.

Mr. Singh was also born in the same village and studied there upto 5th class and then came to Sikandrabad where he completed his studies upto class XII in the Hindi medium. His father realised the importance of education for him and encouraged him to continue his studies. After completing his Intermediate he joined the service and went to Allahabad for a three year training. He did not have any specific occupational goals or ambitions. His father though encouraged him to continue his studies but did not guide him properly as he himself did not have idea in this regard. His mother, like his father, wanted him just to increase his level of education and had no specific career or educational plan for him. Moreover, no attention was given to his sister's education by any of the parents. Mr. Singh also wanted to obtain education for the sake of any job through which he can earn money. That's why he joined service in Aligarh when he was in B.Sc.I year. But now he realised the

importance of a 'Respectable job' and is dissatisfied with his present job. According to him 'Respectable jobs' are those jobs with which prestige is associated, which require a specific qualification and society gives a special respect and honour to the people holding the job, like doctors, engineers, lawyers, civil servants, teachers etc.

Mr. Singh wants both his son and daughters to be in a respectable job and guides them regularly in their pursuit of education. He feels that due to the lack of proper guidance from parents he could not set his occupational goals. After coming to Aligarh and joining the service he realised the importance of education and prestigious job.

His marriage was arranged by his parents in the same traditional manner in which his parents and grandparents marriage was arranged. He was married at an early age of 18 years. Caste, family background and the bride's beauty were the main considerations. Mr. Singh, though not against inter-religious and inter-caste marriage, would like to avoid these marriages due to cultural differences and incompatibility between marriage partners and to continue his family tradition of marrying within their own caste. He favours widow and divorce remarriages but is against child marriages. Caste, education and occupation are the main consideration for arranging marriage for his children.

Mr. Singh has strong faith in God but he does not perform any rituals. He believes that there is a supernatural power who has been given different names by different people. Rituals can in no way be helpful. The right path to profitiate God is to avoid wrong doings and follow the ways prescribed by God and to help other fellow men and women. He sometimes performs 'pooja' but not in a traditional and ritualistic form. That is to say he does not perform idol workship. He simply sits for some minutes and thinks of God. He does not attend 'keertan' and 'satsang'. He does not believe in 'mannat' nor does he visit 'dargah'. He would, if given a chance, go on a 'teerth yatra' but only for a visit without any religious fervor.

Decision making in both routine and special matters relating to the home and family are taken by him. He often discusses matters with his children about their career but he does not consult his wife. He indirectly indicated that such matters do not concern her and his wife, too, does not consider herself capable of taking any decisions or expressing her opinion.

Mr. Singh operates an independent Bank account. A larger part of income is spent on education and clothing. Mr. Singh wants his children to be highly educated and can spend a major part of his income to get his children

educated. Because of his limited income he does not subscribe to newspapers or magazines but he is conscious enough to borrow a Hindi newspaper regularly from his neighbours or friends. The family does own a T.V. set and one of his favourite pass time is to watch programmes on current affairs and news followed by serials. He uses his leisure time in reading books, newspaper and sleeping. He does not help his wife in household chores. He believes that the presence of his daughters is enough to help his wife. He does not visit to cinema hall and restaurant.

Mr. Singh speaks pure Hindi. He wears 'pant-shirt' and sometimes 'kurta-pajama' at office, and at home he wears 'kurta-pajama'. He is a vegetarian and gives importance to tasty food and likes eating sitting on the floor.

Mr. Singh's political awareness is evident by his interest in discussing political affairs and civic functions. Franchise, for him, is an important right and he exercises it consciously.

Mr. Singh's wife Mrs. Reeta is a 42 years old, good looking and polite housewife who was dressed up in 'saree' with 'bindi' and 'sindur' representing a typical Hindu married woman.

She was born in Baroli of district Agra. She studied there upto 5th class in a Hindi medium school, and though she wanted to continue her studies she could not do so

because the only school in the village came under the domination of a group which was enemy of her family. Therefore, her family members did not want to send their children to that school. Her brothers were sent to other places either in the hostel or rented room to continue their studies. Since she was a girl, her parents did not particularly care about her education, especially because it would involve moving to another village or city.

Mrs. Reeta's parents did not pay any attention to her studies though she was a bright student. Now she is a housewife and is satisfied with her life. She was married at 15 years of age as her parents wanted her to get married as soon as possible in order to fulfill their obligation and responsibility. she did not see her husband before marriage. Caste and family background were given importance while arranging her marriage. She does not have her own views on matters related to remarriages of widows and divorces. She, however, appeared complacent about these marriages as she felt that in these changing times these things are bound to happen. As far as marriage of her own children is concerned she does not want them to marry at an early age. She is firm that her children will marry within their own caste and religion.

Mrs. Reeta observes veil and rules of avoidance before her in-laws and close relatives when she visits her in-laws place or when they visit home. She rarely talks

or sit with them. But in Aligarh she does not observe veil and moves more freely. She felt a lot of change in her attitudes, language and behaviour after coming to Aligarh.

She wants her children to be highly educated and take up a respectable job but she is unable to encourage and guide them. She has two distinct rules for her sons and daughters i.e. the sons should marry only after they procure a job but no such condition is laid down for her daughters. In case, she gets a suitable match then after graduation she would settle their marriage. She considers caste, occupational level and personality as important factors in settling marriage for her daughters.

Mrs. Reeta is regular in observing 'pooja' and 'vrat'. She sometimes reads 'Ramayan'. She gives 'daan' on festivals. She does not visit 'dargah' and does not believe in 'mannat' but has a great desire to go for 'teerth yatra'. She attends 'satsang' and 'keertan' but unable to arrange such meetings at home due to shortage of space.

She spends her whole day in attending to the household chores. Her husband does not help her in household chores and this seems her well because she herself does not want his help as she considers that it is her duty as a wife to take care of all household chores. She does not read newspaper or magazines. She sometimes watches television and likes watching serials. She is

dependent on her husband for all decisions whether personal or for the general welfare of the family. She does not go for shopping and her husband thinks it is his duty to provide all essential commodities himself.

Mrs. Reeta speaks her village dialect which is spoken in her hometown. She follows the ritual traditions of vegetarianism. The meals are served sitting on the floor.

She always wears 'saree' and adorns her forehead with 'bindi' and 'sindur'. Cosmetics and jewellery are worn only on special occasions.

Mrs. Reeta is politically unaware and exercises her right to vote on advise of her husband.

Mrs. and Mr. Singh's daughter Sudha, an 18 year old, shy and introvert girl, is a student of B.A. II year. She was born in her father's village Nagla Vihari and studied there upto 5th class in a Hindi medium school. Her parents shifted to Aligarh and she took admission in a local women's college where the medium of instructions is Hindi. Sudha was very reluctant in giving the information. The researcher had to spend a lot of time to make her feel comfortable and responsive as she was too shy. Under her father's guidance Sudha is studying with the aim of getting higher education and consequently getting a respectable job. During the course of interview it appeared that his



father, though wants her to be educated, pays less attention to her education as compared to that of her brother. Hesitantly she confided that her main aim was to join the I.A.S. Cadre but she felt that she could never be able to achieve her goal. She wants to obtain higher education and wants to get married after getting a suitable job. But she is not sure whether her parents would wait that long. She is ready for marriage as and when her parents arrange her marriage. She wants to meet her fiance before marriage but she considers it rather daring to express her wish to her parents. In general, she is against child marriages, inter-caste and inter-religious marriages and, to some extent, favours widow and divorce remarriages. She gives importance to caste and educational level and personality of person in arranging marriages.

Sudha performs 'pooja' daily and keeps 'vrat' on important festivals. She visits temples occasionally. She never reads 'Ramayan' or 'Geeta'. She wants to go to 'teerth yatra' and attends 'keertan' often. She performs all these rituals from religious point of view. She does not believe in 'mannat' and does not visit 'dargah'.

She utilises her leisure time in reading magazines, newspaper (borrowed from others) and in helping her mother in household chores. She is often consulted by her parents regarding some family matters and talks with them freely.

She doesn't go for shopping on her personal account, though she is allowed by her parents for the same. She is not allowed to go to cinemas and restaurants. She watches general knowledge programmes on television and reads Hindi newspaper and informative magazines.

Sudha wore skirt during her childhood but now she wears 'shalwar-suit' at home as well as outside home. She speaks in Hindi fluently without the dialect accent of her mother. She is a vegetarian and takes her meals sitting on the floor but she uses a spoon to eat. She didn't have dining table set otherwise she, sometimes, would like to eat sitting at a dining table.

Sudha wants to know and discuss political affairs but does not go to cast her vote as she does not like going anywhere.

Sudha's brother Sunil is a 16 years old, intelligent and confident boy who is a student of 11th class in A.M.U., Sunil welcomed the researcher and provided detailed information quite comfortably and confidently.

He was born in his father's village but he started his educational pursuit at Aligarh. His medium of instructions has always been English.

Sunil appeared very intelligent, hard working and ambitious boy. His aim is to become either doctor, engineer or an I.A.S. officer In his opinion education is necessary

part of one's life which contributes towards knowledge and provides opportunities for prestigious job. To become a doctor is his childhood dream and he is trying his best to achieve the target failing which he would opt the career of either engineer or civil servant. He would not accept any job before completing his education. His father encourages him a lot for studies and provides timely and proper guidance. His father keeps an eye on his activities including his diet, hours of study hours of playing, watching television etc. and tried to provide him the best. Sunil's mother though wants him to be in a higher and respectable position , is not able to guide him properly. Sunil feels that his mother's lack of education has always proved non-encouraging and unhelpful for his studies. His father does not stay all the time at home, and whenever he has to ask any questions regarding his course, his mother is not able to answer either because what she studied upto 5th class has forgotten in doing household chores or she studied in a Hindi medium school. Consequently she is not able to even understand his course. Therefore, Sunil feels that had his mother been educated this task would have been simpler.

Sunil wants to marry only after getting a suitable job. He wants his marriage to be arranged by his parents in consultation with him. And, in case, he selects his marriage partner himself he would get it approved by his

parents. Sunil believes that educational level would be the main consideration while selecting his would-be wife as an educated mother can guide, teach and advise her children in every walks of life. Other considerations, for him, while selecting his wife are her beauty and perfection in household chores. He does not want her wife to be a working woman but would allow her for the same if she wishes. Sunil is very much against child marriages. He favours widow remarriages but does not approve remarriage of divorcees. He feels that inter-caste and inter-religious marriages should be avoided due to cultural differences.

Sunil does not believe in observance of religious practices. He sometimes performs 'pooja' before examination and sometimes participate in common 'pooja' only on festivals. His father wants him to concentrate on his studies rather than on observing rituals because for him religion teaches the distinction between right and wrong and it has nothing to do with rituals. He sometimes attends 'satsang' where 'Maharaj' teaches about the right and wrong conduct in life. He does not believe in 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah'. He seemed very much influenced by his father. He used the sentence so many times, while talking, 'Papa ne Kaha' (father said). He wants to go for 'teerth yatra' to visit only.

Sunil reads English and Hindi newspapers daily. These newspapers are not subscribed at his home but he borrows the same from others. He reads current affairs magazines, plays and sleeps during his leisure time. Sunil, sometimes, helps his sisters and mother and is ready to help his would be wife, if it is necessary. Usually his mother and sisters do not want to take his help.

Sunil speaks mostly Hindi at home as well as at school. He wears 'pant-shirt' outside home and 'kurta-pajama' at home. He is a non-vegetarian and have non-vegetarian dishes at his friend's home. He likes eating on table chairs but his family does not possess these items. He does not visit to cinema halls and restaurants due to financial constraints. Moreover, he is not allowed by his parents who consider him too young and want him to concentrate on his studies.

He does not take much interest in discussing political affairs but wants to cast his vote independently.

#### CASE NO. 7

##### II generation

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Mr. Anees Ahmad | - Head of the family,<br>Seminar Incharge |
| Mrs. Anees      | - Housewife                               |

##### III generation

- |        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| Sheeba | - Daughter (student) |
|--------|----------------------|

Faisal	- Son (Student)
Sehba	- Daughter (Student)
Naghma	- Daughter (Student)
Jamal	- Son (Student)
Family Income	- Around Rs. 5000/- per month
Residence	- Jamalpur, Aligarh

Owens house, small in size, consisting of a small drawing room arranged with simple furniture, bed room cum living room, store room, varandah etc.

Mr. Anees Ahmad's nuclear family consists of his wife and their three unmarried daughters and two unmarried sons. The family is comfortably settled in their own house in Jamalpur area of Aligarh. Some four years ago they lived in a rented house but now things have changed.

Mr. Anees Ahmad, head of the family, works as a seminar incharge in A.M.U. and is a serious looking 45 year old man who responded the questions in a slight hurry.

Mr. Ahmad's father was born in Habibwala of district Bijnore and his mother was born in Akbarabab. Both parents were literate and had obtained religious education at home. As he came from a family of prosperous farmers they never felt the need for education and encouraged their children to continue farming on the ancestral land which was so dear to them. Moreover, he felt no need to receive education or to get a job because

the family owned so much of property. The lack of Mr. Ahmad's mother's education was explained in terms of the lurking ignorance towards women's education in villages those days. He said "Even if my mother had been educated perhaps she would not had been allowed to work outside home". She was a housewife and was trained at her parent's place for this role.

Mr. Ahmad's family consider themselves as 'sheikh', caste and family background were determining factors in arranging his parent's marriage. They did not meet before marriage and got married at the age of 21 year and 15 year of age respectively.

Mr. Ahmad's parents very regularly observed all religious practices and attended 'meelad' and 'ijtema'. They wanted to go for 'Haj' but could not succeed. Neither they believe in 'mannat' nor in visiting 'dargah'. His mother observed purdah religiously and insisted upon her daughter-in-law to observe. Children specially sons were always consulted by them while taking any important decisions. They did not have Bank account and a large amount of their income was spent on food and housing. His mother went only in the company of family members and was never allowed to venture alone. No newspapers was subscribed to his family. His father and mother were busy in farming and managing household chores respectively. The division of labour was purely based on gender. The men

worked and managed the farm and women stayed at home to manage the house. Children were more closely associated with the mother than with the father.

Both the parents spoke in Urdu. Mr. Ahmad's father's attire was the traditional 'sherwani' and 'kurta-pajama' and mother's 'shalwar-suit' and 'choodidar pajama'. Jewellery and cosmetics were avoided both at home and outside except perhaps for weddings. Both parents were non-vegetarian and instead of eating on dining table with spoons, they liked to eat on 'dastarkhwan' or sitting on the floor. The servants were employed for farming but not for household chores which were the responsibility of women.

His father used, to cast his vote independently as he often discussed political affairs. His mother's political awareness and participation was limited to casting vote on advise of her husband.

Like his father, Mr. Ahmad's birth place was Habibwala, where he completed his primary schooling in a municipal board Hindi medium school. His father had by now realized the importance of Education and had sent Mr. Ahmad to Aligarh for completing his schooling. He joined a school where he opted for instructions in Urdu as it was very difficult for him to adjust in English medium. He said that his father had realized the importance of



education and sent him to Aligarh but, by that time the yield from the farm had reduced considerably. As a result of financial constraints he could not support the education plant beyond High school. Mr. Ahmad had to take up a job of Lab Assistant in order to supplement his father's income and also to continue his education upto B.Lib. He also received religious education during the early years of his life at home. After a hard struggle he completed his B.Lib and took up a regular job suited to his interest. He is now satisfied with his job but feels insulted when students don't give due respect to him. He utilises his leisure time in social work that is to say, that after his official hours he spends most of his time in solving problems of friends.

In his family marriages take place, usually among close relatives or 'khandan'. His marriage was arranged by his parents. Since Mrs. and Mr. Ahmad were relatives they were well acquainted before marriage. Mr. Ahmad is against both child marriages and inter-religious marriage. He approves inter-caste marriage if suitable match is not available in one's own caste. He favours widow and divorcee remarriage. He considers high educational level of the boy/girl as important factor while arranging his children's marriage.

Mr. Ahmad is rather casual about offering 'namaz'. He says that he is so involved with helping others that he

hardly has time for 'namaz'. He is unable to observe 'roza' during 'ramadan' as he is a heavy smoker. Sometimes he finds time to recite 'Quran'. His inability to follow the religious rituals does not in any way indicate that he is a non-believer or an antagonist or atheist. He firmly believes in the Islamic principles and wishes to proceed on the 'haj' pilgrimage. He attends 'meelad' and 'ijtema' but does not believe in 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah'.

Important decisions in family are taken by both husband and wife sometimes in consultation with children when decisions are relating to their education, occupation, etc. He never helps his wife in household chores even when she wants his help. He does not force his wife or daughter to observe purdah.

Mr. Ahmad reads English newspaper daily, and watches serials and news on television. He speaks mostly in Urdu. His usual dress is 'pant-shirt' and on some formal occasions he likes to wear 'sherwani'. At home, he feels relaxed in 'kurta-pajama'. He is a non-vegetarian, likes to eat on 'dastarkhwan' or sitting on the floor or on 'takhat' but has no desire to sit at a table to eat meals.

His political awareness is not limited to voting but, infact, he is an active participant in local and national politics. He is also a member of 'Technical Staff Association' and maintains his independent political image.

Mr. Ahmad's wife Sadia, the perfect housewife, is in her forties. The stately tall lady responded to the questions quite comfortably and willingly. Her primary schooling began in Saharanpur. She studied upto High School in Sahwara. After completing her High School, her father died. Sadia seemed very grieved while talking about her father's death. She told that after her father's death, her mother could not run business properly as she was not educated and qualified enough to do the same. Children were not mature enough to look after father's business. Therefore, servants took advantage of it. She seemed very disappointed and regret thinking that had her mother been educated she would had looked after business with more ease and confidence. Her mother also realised the importance of education and did her best to get her children specially her daughters educated. Since no colleges were there in Sahwara for her further studies, her maternal uncle took her to Aligarh so that she can continue her studies. Her relatives criticised her for going to receive education but despite these criticism her mother encouraged her to study.

In Aligarh, after completing Diploma course in fashion garments. She got admitted to B.A. (Hons). When she was doing her B.A. she was married to her distant relative. She wanted to study more but circumstances were

such that she was the eldest daughter and after the death of her father, her mother had to look after other six children also. Therefore she got married in Habibwala and after marriage shifted to Aligarh and settled in a rented house. After marriage she completed her B.A. from A.M.U. She received religious education in early years of her life. She wanted to receive formal education only "not to remain uneducated". She said "when I was at Sahwara, I just wanted to study more and more so that I could not remain uneducated as the case with my mother. I just passed from one class to another. But after coming to Aligarh I realised the necessity of education to lead a good life. My husband encouraged me to receive higher education. After completing B.A. and after the birth of my second child, I received an offer for job in a women's polytechnic. My husband left the decision to me and I joined the service. I was fully satisfied with my job as it provided the facility to move outside home and meet different people and also added to our family income. I was happy enough to have my independent earning and independent identity. But, gradually I felt the need to resign from job as it became very difficult for me to adjust and manage my household chores as well as job alone. My husband never helped me in household chores as he was busy in his own work and other social activities. My childrens were too little. Therefore, despite my great

efforts to adjust my household as well as professional affairs I could not do so and resigned from service." Now Mrs. Ahmad is satisfied with her life as a housewife though not fully. She gets bored with a usual routine at home and wants to work outside. She expressed her wish by saying "Now my children have grown up. If I will find a suitable and respectable job, I will join it."

Mrs. Ahmad observed purdah before marriage and continued it after marriage. But she gave it up after the birth of second child. She narrated with a slight smile that "I continued to observe purdah after marriage. My husband did not force me to observe but my in-law specially mother-in-law, though permitted me to work outside willingly, wanted me to observe purdah. One day as usual my husband was busy in his social activities, I asked him to take our son to the hospital but he did not have the time and he refused to do so. I said that I can't do such type of job outside home with wearing the 'burqa'. If I would take him to the hospital I won't wear 'burqa'. My husband did not mind. And that day I gave up 'Burqa' and took our son to the hospital. My mother-in-law and other relatives criticised very much but when my husband did not object I did not wear 'burqa' again."

Mrs. Ahmad admitted that her marriage and educational level of husband, to some extent, have been effective in increasing her freedom and relaxation in the

practice of purdah. She told that usually marriages in her family are arranged in 'khandan' but if suitable match is not available one can marry outside 'khandan' or caste. She is against child marriages and favours divorcee and widow remarriages. She said that she herself does not favour inter-religious marriages but if her children will force she will allow them to, but not willingly. According to her the most important factor in settling the marriage is education of the person concerned associated with, not necessarily high paid, but respectable job.

Mrs. Ahmad offers 'namaz' sometimes but she is very regular in observing 'roza' and giving 'zakat'. She wants to go for 'haj' considering it religiously desirable. She recites 'Quran' with translation but not regularly due to the shortage of time. She attends 'ijtema' and 'meelad' frequently due to faith but can't arrange at home due to shortage of space. She never visited 'dargah' because her parents did not believe in visiting 'dargah'. She does not believe in 'mannat'.

Important decisions in family are taken jointly by husband and wife. She buys clothes for herself and for her daughter but usually other necessary goods for home are bought by her husband. Her husband does not help her in household chores which sometime irritates her. She said that "My mother-in-law did not take help from my husband during his childhood. That is why he does not help me. Now

I take help from my son in household chores wherever he is free." She told that she would not repeat what her mother-in-law did.

Mrs. Ahmad wants and spends most part of the income on education, food and clothing. She used to go to cinemas and restaurants after marriage but now she rarely goes there. She speaks in Urdu. She reads mostly Urdu newspaper. In T.V. programmes she likes watching serials and news. She wears 'shalwar-suit' at home and 'saree' at outside. She uses jewellery and cosmetics only in functions. Though a non-vegetarian, she likes vegetarian food also. She does not feel comfortable eating on table and chairs with spoons.

Mrs. Ahmad discusses political affairs and pays attention to news. She exercises her right to vote according to her own choice.

Mrs. and Mr. Ahmad's daughter Sheeba is an 18 years old simple and well behaved girl. Though she was tired after returning from college but she welcomed the researcher and cooperated by answering the questions comfortably.

Sheeba is a student of 12th class in women's college A.M.U. She was born in Aligarh and studied in various schools of Aligarh where medium of instructions was English. She also received religious education at

home. She wants to do some professional course. Initially her aim was to become an engineer but she was not good at science subjects. Therefore, she opted for commerce stream and now she wants to do M.B.A. course. In her view, education is an essential thing to lead a proper life. She gives more importance to prestige associated with job than to money. She wants to become an independent and working woman. Her parents guide and encourage her for studies and want her to be in a respectable job. She lives at a place where most of the people are uneducated or literate. Her neighbours criticise her for going for higher education by saying that "what's the need for girls to study so much". But her parents always encourage her in this regard.

According to Sheeba, the most important factor in settling marriage are education, respectable job, and similarity in thoughts and personality of the person concerned. she wants to talk to her husband before marriage if she will be allowed to do so by her parents. She said "I am very confident that my parents will consult me in this regard and final decision will be dependent upon me. If I could not talk to him, at least I will see him before marriage", she wants to marry only after completing her education and finding a suitable job. She is not ready to accept any job after schooling. Though there is a trend in her family of marrying inside



'khandan' she has no objection in marrying outside 'khandan'. She does not like child marriage and favours widow and divorcee remarriage. On question of inter-religious marriage she said "My parents do not like inter-religious marriage. Therefore, I would like to avoid it."

Sheeba offers 'namaz' five times a day regularly and observes 'roza' regularly considering it religiously necessary. She favours giving, 'zakat' to help needy people and wants to go for 'haj'. She recites 'Quran' but not regularly due to shortage of time. She often attends 'meelad' and 'ijtema'. She does not believe in 'mannat' and never visited 'dargah'. She does not observe purdah and is not forced by her family members. She said "when my mother does not observe purdah, How can I"?

According to Sheeba, most part of income should be spent on food, education and decorating home respectively. She wants her family to have luxurious items. Usually she talks in Urdu but sometimes while talking to her brother at home and to her classmates in school she talks in English. Both English and Urdu newspapers are subscribed in her family. She reads English newspaper daily. She watches television daily and among T.V. programmes she likes musical programme, films, news etc. She uses her leisure time by helping her mother in household chores, reading Urdu magazines, watching television and sleeping.

She rarely visits cinemas and restaurants with her friends. She is allowed to shop alone but usually goes with her mother or friends.

Sheeba wears 'shalwar-suit' and sometimes 'saree' specially on occasions. Earlier, she used to wear jeans but Jamalpur locality does not allow her to wear the same though her parents allow. She uses some jewellery and make-up only in functions. She is a vegetarian and likes eating on 'dastarkhwan' not on table chairs by using spoons as other family members are.

Sheeba rarely discusses political affairs. She has no interest in politics. But she wants to exercise her right to vote independently.

Her brother Faisal is 17 year old, average looking, a little shy and serious boy. Initially, he was not forthcoming but later on as the interview proceeded he told the researcher whatever was asked. He was born in Aligarh and studied in various schools of Aligarh where the medium of instructions was English and now he is a student of 11th class. He also received religious education at home. He wants to become an engineer and his parents encourage and guide him in this pursuit. Education, he feels, is necessary for getting a respectable job as well as to lead a happy and prosperous life. He wants to marry only after getting a job. He wants

to marry a girl selected by his parents but he wants to see and talk to her before marriage otherwise he would not be ready for marriage. The reason for this may be explained in terms of beauty which he considers a necessary quality her bride-to-be must possess. Education and perfection in household chores are qualities, other than beauty that, she should also possess. In view of his parent's discouraging attitudes towards inter-religious marriage he would try to avoid it. He does not like child marriages and favours widow and divorcee remarriages.

He offers 'Juma namaz' regularly in mosque and other 'namaz' sometimes at home. He observe 'roza' regularly, wants to give 'zakat' and to go for 'haj' considering it all religiously necessary or desirable. He sometimes recites 'Quran'. He often attends 'ijtema' not 'meelad' considering it meant for women only. He does not believe in 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah'.

Though important decisions in family are taken by his parents jointly but he is consulted while taking decisions regarding his own career etc. He often helps his mother and sister in household chores, and he also wants to help his would be wife. Most part of income, he feels must be spent on education, clothing and recreation respectively. He wants to have luxurions items. Usually he speaks in Urdu but at school with his friends and at home with his sister he sometimes talks in English. He

watches television daily and likes news, musical programme and current affairs programme. He uses his leisure time by reading film magazines, fashion magazines and comics. Usually he wear 'pant-shirt' and 'sherwani' outside home and 'kurta-pajama' at home. He likes eating on dining table and chairs which his family does not have. He is a non-vegetarian. He rarely visits cinema and restaurants. He reads English newspaper daily. He is not interested in discussing politics but wants to cast his vote according to his own choice.

#### CASE NO. 8

##### II generation

Mr. Aqeel Ahmad	- Head of the family, U.D.C.
Mrs. Aqeel Ahmad	- Working as 4th grade employee

##### III generation

Asma	Daughter (Student)
Sajid	- Son (Student)
Family Income	- Around Rs 5000/- per month
Residence	- Jamalpur, Aligarh

Owns house, moderate in size, neat but not well arranged, two living rooms cum bed rooms, store room, varandah and courtyard, no separate drawing rooms and dining rooms.

Mr. Aqeel with his wife, daughter and son resides in a modest house in Jamalpur area of Aligarh.

Head of the family Mr. Aqeel Ahmad, in his fifties, is a very serious, traditional and an introvert person. The researcher had to spent a lot of time to get information from him. He was dressed up in 'kurta-pajama' with a scarf on shoulder and a cap on his head.

Mr. Aqeel's father and mother belonged to Rampur. Both of them were illiterate. Their lack of education can be attributed to their parents ignorance which acted as an impediment. His parents were given religious education which was considered more necessary. Mr. Aqeel's father joined military service and his mother was a house wife.

Mr. Aqeel's parent's marriage was arranged by their parents taking into account caste and family background. They did not see each other before marriage. During those days inter-religious and inter-caste marriages, widow remarriages and divorcee remarriages were rare and child marriages were common. Mr. Aqeel's father was 17 year old and his mother was 14 year old at the time of marriage.

His father and mother were very regular in offering 'namaz', observing 'roza', attending 'ijtema' and 'meelad' and reciting 'Quran'. They wanted to go for 'haj' but could not make it due to financial constraints.

They often visited 'dargah' and believed in 'mannat'. His mother observed purdah and rules of avoidance strictly.

The authority of taking final decision on family matters and of spending money was the sole responsibility of his father. He often consulted his son while taking any important decision. When Mr. Aqeel grown up his father shifted this authority to him. His father spent a substantial part of his income on food.

Mr. Aqeel's parents did not have any leisure time activities. His mother was busy with household work. His father did not help his mother in household chores. His mother herself did not want his help. No newspapers or magazines were subscribed for their family. Both parents spoke Urdu.

Mr. Aqeel's father preferred to wear 'pant-shirt' outside home or at his work place and 'kurta-pajama' at home and sometimes, when he went to meet his family friends. 'Shalwar-suit' and 'choodidar pajama' were the approved apparel of his mother at home as well as outside. She did not use jewellery but applied cosmetics on occasions of functions. Both of them were non-vegetarian and used to have meals sitting on 'takht' or floor without using spoons. They were not politically aware. His father casted his vote on the advice of others and his mother sometimes casted her vote on advice of his father.

Mr. Aqeel was also born in Rampur. After completing his High School from Urdu medium he obtained H.I diploma and joined service in Aligarh as U.D.C. His parents did not take interest in getting him educated. Whatever education he received was result of his own efforts. He did not have any specific occupational goals in mind. He studied just to get any job. His parent's disinterest towards his education, coupled with poor financial condition and his lack of interest have proved to be obstacles in his educational pursuits. As a result, he is now dissatisfied with his job and attends to his duties merely to earn money for his livelihood.

Mr. Aqeel's parents found themselves incapable of finding a suitable marriage partner for him. Mr. Aqeel himself selected his marriage partner and obtained his parents approval. While selecting his marriage partner he took into account her caste and educational qualification. He is against inter-religious and inter-caste marriages but in exceptional cases he approves these marriages. He favours widow and divorcee remarriage and opposes child marriages.

Mr. Aqeel obtained religious education during his childhood. In addition, he himself studied a lot of books on Islam and religious texts. He is very regular in observing 'roza', offering prayer, giving 'zakat' and reciting 'Quran'. He visits 'ijtema' but not 'meelad'. He

does not visit 'dargah' nor does he believe in 'mannat'. He wants to go for 'haj'. He wants his wife and daughter to observe purdah but does not force them. His wife is a working woman. She does not observe purdah anywhere. She takes most of the decision regarding family matters but final authority of taking decision lies with Mr. Aqeel Ahmad himself.

Most of the time Mr. Aqeel is busy in reading Urdu newspaper, magazines and Islamic books. He does not help his wife and daughter in household chores. Though he wants his children to be highly educated yet does not encourage them or guide them for a specific career because he believes in luck and fate. He said "Jo qismat main hona hoga woh ho jayega". A large part of family income is spent on food and education. Mr. Aqeel is a non-vegetarian and likes eating sitting on the floor or 'takht' rather than the table and chair. He speaks in Urdu.

He always wears 'kurta-pajama' with a scarf and cap. Sometimes he wears 'sherwani' or jacket with it. He wore pant and shirt when young, but now prefers 'sherwani'.

Mr. Aqeel is very much politically aware and casts his vote independently.



Mr. Aqeel's wife Salma is a 47 year old, average looking confident working woman. She is a 4th grade employee in A.M.U. She provided a detailed information to the researcher.

Mrs. Salma was born in Bareilly. She did her primary schooling from Urdu medium school. She was given religious education at home. Her father was transferred to Jaipur where she did her High School. Her parents specially mother encouraged her to continue her educational pursuit but due to regular illness she could not study more. Her mother wanted her to be a career woman because her mother's lack of education made her incapable of taking up some employment. Mrs. Salma stayed for 5 years at Bombay at her aunty's place. The year she spent in Bombay left a deep impact on her life. She learned new dress pattern and changed her style of speech. Career women in Bombay inspired her a lot. Having returned from Bombay she joined service in A.M.U. and stayed at her relative's place. She was married at the age of 30 years because she wanted to select a man who had a higher educational attainment and was placed in a higher occupational scale. And it was very difficult for her parents to find such a person for her. She was married to Mr. Aqeel Ahmad who was employed as U.D.C. in the same office where she worked. Her marriage was arranged by her parents with her full consent. After

marriage she continued her job. Her husband wanted her to give up her job and assume her full time duties as a housewife to ensure the proper upbringing of their children. She managed to convince her husband that she could efficiently combine her two roles. They mutually agreed to do so. Now she is satisfied with her job as it had provided her an additional income for running the household as well as provided her economic independence. She feels confident and secure. She spends her income according to her own will and they have mutually decided to maintain their savings independently and spend their income separately.

Decisions in their family are taken jointly. Most of the decisions are taken by Mrs. Salma and the children are often consulted. The final authority, however, rests with Mr. Aqeel Ahmad. Mrs. Salma feels depressed, at times, when she feels herself tired in managing her two roles because her husband does not help her with the household chores. She does not seek his help either.

Mrs. Salma wants her children to be highly educated and take up a respectable job. She does not discriminate between her son and daughter and encourages them to pursue their studies seriously. She wants her son to be an engineer and her daughter to take up the

medical profession. She feels that marriages should be arranged by parents on the basis of caste, education and occupation. She is against inter-religious and child marriages but has no objection on divorcee and widow remarriage.

Mrs. Salma is not regular in offering 'namaz' as she says that she does not get time to do so. She, however, regularly observes 'roza' and pays 'zakat'. Like her husband she does not believe in 'mannat' and nor does she visit 'dargah'. She does not attend 'ijtema'. She, however, attends 'meelad' with an aim to maintain her social relationships. She wants to arrange 'meelad' at her home but does not get time to do so. She often recites 'Quran' and wants to go for 'haj'. Though she does not observe purdah, yet observes rules of avoidance in the presence of close relatives such as brother-in-law etc.

Mrs. Salma wants to decorate her house in the modern style and uses modern amenities like T.V., refrigerator etc. But she is unable to realize her dream first because of financial constraints and second because of her husband who believes in simple living. Her children, like she herself, also support her ideas but are helpless against their father's authority.

Mrs. Salma speaks Urdu. She does not watch television but reads the Urdu newspaper. Before marriage

she used to wear 'shalwar-suit' and 'ball-bottom'. Now after marriage she wears 'shalwar-suit' and sometimes saree' and 'gharara' in functions. She rarely uses cosmetics and jewellery. As a new bride, she had adorned these but after her children grew up gave them up.

She is a non-vegetarian but prefers vegetarian food and likes eating sitting at the table, though the family does not possess the dining table. Therefore, she has to eat sitting on the 'dastarkhwan'. She does not go cinema and restaurants.

She does not take much interest in discussing political affairs but casts her vote independently.

Mrs. and Mr. Aqeel's son Sajid is an 18 year old, shy boy who is a student of 12th class. He was born at Aligarh and studied there from the very beginning. His medium of instructions has always been English. He gives importance to education and wants to be highly educated but he prefers business more than service. At present, with due respect to his parents specially mother's feelings he is preparing to take on the engineering entrance test, failing which he would like to establish his own large scale business. He prefers to be a good businessman with high educational qualifications. He was also given religious education.

Sajid wants to marry after he completes his education and finds himself well settled in an occupation. He wants to see and talk his wife before marriage. Family background, educational qualification and common interests would be the main consideration for settling the marriage alliance. He does not wish to marry within the 'khandan'. While he approves of inter-caste, widow and divorcee remarriages, he does not approve of inter-religious and child marriages.

Sajid offers 'namaz' regularly in mosque. He is also very regular in observing 'roza'. He recites the 'Quran' daily during his examinations. He often attends 'meelad' and 'ijtema' but does not believe in 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah'. He wants to go for 'haj' considering it to be a religious duty. He wants his sister to observe purdah but does not force her. However, he does not want his wife to observe purdah. Because he feels that the atmosphere of his area is not conducive for free movement of his sister as most of the boys are indecent and uneducated there. As regards his wife he feels that no one will make any remark as she will be "married". He often helps his mother and sister in household chores whenever needed and is ready to help his wife if she will be a working woman or whenever she will be sick. He favours working woman outside home.

Sajid feels that most part of the income should be spent on clothing, education and housing. He wants to possess all modern items. He usually wears 'pant-shirt' at home and outside home and sometimes he wears 'kurta-pajama' at home. He usually speaks Urdu but at his school he speaks in English or Urdu mixed with English. He watches sports programmes, musical programme, films and news on television. He reads English newspaper quite often, borrowed from others. He reads sports and film magazines. He visits cinema Halls and restaurants occasionally with his friends.

Sajid is a non-vegetarian and likes both nutritious and delicious food. He likes eating at the table. He is politically aware and wants to cast his vote according to his own choice.

Sajid's sister Asma is a 17 year old, simple and well behaved girl. She is student of 11th class and her ambition is to become a career woman. She was born at Aligarh and completed her High school from English medium school. She wants to opt the career of either doctor, engineer or teacher. Her parents encourage her to pursue higher education but if a suitable marital match becomes available her father would prefer to get her married off after graduation, not allowing her to pursue her educational goals. Her mother, however, wants her to get

married after completing her education. Her neighbours who are mostly illiterate criticise her for receiving formal education but her parents do not care. She also received religious education at home.

Asma wants to marry after she is well settled in a suitable job or at least after completing her educational pursuits. She feels that higher education and subsequently a suitable job make a woman independent and confident. Besides high educational and occupational level, the ideal qualities that she seeks in her husband are trustworthiness and similarity of her interests and way of thinking. She wants to get well-acquainted with the man whom she may marry. She wants to take her brother's help in household chores. She would also like to take her husband's help if she opts to be a career woman. If she settles as a housewife then she would not expect her husband to help her with the household chores. Asma does not appreciate inter-religious or inter-caste or child marriages. She, however, does not have any objection to widow and divorcee remarriages.

Asma is regularly in observing 'roza' but offers 'namaz' as and when convenient. She occasionally recites 'Quran' for paucity of time she likes attending 'meelad' and 'ijtema' not only from religious point of view but from a social point of view as well. She wants to visit the 'dargah' just for the sake of visiting but her

religious zeal to go for 'haj' is very pressing. She does not believe in 'mannat'.

Asma wants that a larger part of income should be spent on education , housing, clothing and food. She wants to possess technologically advanced goods but her parents' financial condition as well as her father's ignorance and his self-satisfaction do not allow her to possess these items. She is a non-vegetarian and prefers tasty food. She feels comfortable sitting on the 'dastarkhwan', but she prefers eating sitting on the dining table which her family does not possess.

Asma reads Urdu newspaper but without any regularity. During her leisure time she watches television, listens music and reads Urdu magazines. mostly she watches musical programmes on television. She speaks Urdu at home and at school and sometimes uses English words and sentences. She wears 'shalwar-suit' at home and outside home but sometimes she wears 'saree' and uses light jewellery and cosmetics in functions. She rarely goes to cinema and restaurants. Asma is not much politically aware but wants to cast her vote independently.



CHAPTER - IV

RESULTS

The present study was carried out to assess the impact of education on the life styles of selected eight families in which the educational level of third generation was controlled. Thus, in all the selected families the educational level of all members of the third generation was above High School.

Apart from education, income group, age and religious factors were also taken into account to examine their impact on life styles of families.

Comparisons are made to highlight the main findings of the study by bringing out the complex of factors associated with education, which may be involved in bringing about changes in the life styles.

The present study is aimed at assessing the role of education and its effect on life styles, and, to further identify those factors which may or may not be influential in strengthening or lessening the impact of education. The similarities and differences in the life styles of members of the same families and the members of different families are also analysed and discussed in this chapter.

It was hypothesised that i) the higher the level of education, the greater will be the change in life styles ii) urban based families of higher income group regardless of religious faith would change their life styles as compared to urban based families in the lower income group

iii) The members of younger generation are more likely to change their life styles as compared to members of the older generation.

Most of these hypotheses were partially upheld. A few were disproved.

A comparative analysis in terms of level of education revealed that members of the illiterate group exhibited traditional life styles. This was evident from the fact that they were not conscious of the importance of education or of the non-traditional occupations which are rapidly growing in India. Their exposition to the outside world was limited and they did not participate actively in political activities. Women had almost no say in political matters and nor did they venture to spend their leisure time outside their home in restaurants or cinema houses etc. The pattern of division of labour viz : the male domination, the status of male and female children was based on established traditions. Practice of purdah/veil observance was quite marked with the exception of a few.

Most of them believed in simple living and were satisfied with their life. They clad themselves in traditional dresses and lead what may be described, as a 'simple agrarian life style' with no ostentatious overtures which have now become so apparent in the larger urban cosmopolitan cities.

As compared to the illiterate group of respondents<sup>1</sup>, the 'upto High School level' group showed changes in some aspects of life styles. Most of them aspired for educational upliftment and entry into non-traditional occupation. Changes were observable, in some cases, in terms of women's education and work outside home and their involvement in the process of decision making, decline in the observance of purdah/veil, comparatively greater exposure to mass media and political awareness and participation specially of males, dress style, language of communication, dietary habits marriage pattern etc.

As compared to the illiterates and 'upto High School' category, members of the "highly educated" group distinctively enjoyed more non-traditional life styles with the exceptions of few cases who differed from majority on different aspects of life styles. Most of them aspired for higher western educational attainment and entry into non-traditional elite occupations such as medicine, engineering, executive, professional etc. The pattern of family network displayed the distinctive relationship of companionship between husband and wife which gave way to mutual decision making including the opinion of children, and the decline in the traditional pattern of division of labour.

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1. 'Respondents' also include members of first generation who were not interviewed but information regarding them was gathered from their sons.

This group exhibited a closer and freer relationship between parents and children. These respondents showed greater exposure to outside influences and were more politically aware and active. They enjoyed various type of entertainment like visits to restaurants and cinema halls. Changing marriage patterns, dress styles, dining habits, style of speech, emphasis on comfortable and luxurious life consumerism were as visible as the decline in observance of purdah/veil, involvement of women outside home. There were some exceptions to this general trend. The differences may be accounted for either generational differences, income group, rural-urban background. Differences were also observed on the basis of sex. Though people with higher level of education exhibited greater changes yet the impact of education was not similar in all cases.

Most of the persons who hailed from the rural areas and were permanent residents of their respective villages were not conscious of any occupational hierarchy or status associated with each occupation. They were engaged in and satisfied with their traditional occupation mostly of farming. For them, the job meant a means for daily bread and that was their main concern. The reason for this may be justified in terms of their parents and their own ignorance towards education coupled with village background and poor financial conditions.

The results of the study showed that education helps in creating an awareness quite alien to the illiterates. For example the prestige associated with higher education and certain occupations. Moreover, urban atmosphere made it necessary for them to aspire for higher educational pursuits and non-traditional prestigious occupation. This kind of awareness and consciousness is comparatively less likely to be found in rural areas.

Sound economic background coupled with awareness for pursuing higher education also helped to attain higher level of education through different/superior medium of instructions.

The highly educated people tried to maintain their family prestige of being highly qualified. Their own high level of education enabled them to guide and encourage their children to obtain high level of education and associated prestigious job. The semi-educated people, who themselves could not attain their desired level of education largely due to their parents ignorance, financial constraints or personal factors, realised the importance of high level of education once they exposed to urban living.

The preference for non-traditional occupations, for which a specific educational qualification is required, was found among most of the urban respondents as it was

expected to bring recognition and prestige to them in society as being 'educated'.

Those respondents who aspired for recognition and 'respect' in society through their entrepreneurship, wished to achieve a higher level of education and to, thereby, impress upon others their 'superiority'. Thus, the importance of achieving higher level of education was apparent among most of the respondents who were highly or 'semi-educated' and had been exposed to an urban way of life.

In fact, the aspirations for educational upliftment was more marked among the semi-educated who realised the importance of education. These people wholeheartedly supported their children's educational attainment which they themselves were unable to achieve. Despite their limited income they encouraged their children to pursue higher education but again, because of economic restraints some of them were not able to admit their children to English medium schools and had to be satisfied with Hindi medium schooling.

Sometimes a discriminatory attitude was adopted and sons were sent to English medium schools. But this may not be explained mainly in economic terms as some of the educated and upper income group people did not show much concern regarding medium of instruction. It seems that attainment of higher level of education is a leisure-time

activity and an investment directed towards upward mobility and to maintain a 'respectable' position in society.

It is noteworthy here that all Muslim respondents regardless of generation or income group received religious education and none of the Hindu respondents received religious education but the attainment of religious education did not in any way hinder the attainment of formal education. The factors which became obstacles in the attainment of formal education were perhaps ignorance towards receiving formal education, financial restraints or some other factors. Religion appeared to have played no role in this respect. The most remarkable difference between Hindu and Muslim families was the pattern of religious education imparted to Muslim respondents.

The changes in the life style of younger generation was more apparent than in the older generation of similar educational level. The older generation with higher level of education exhibited changes mainly in terms of dress style, style of speech, exposure to mass media etc. while the younger generation showed changes in almost all aspect of life styles with the exception of few cases.

The Hindu and Muslim families of similar economic background showed quite similar life styles as compared to Hindu families and Muslim families with different economic background with the exception of a few cases.



Thus, as hypothesised, education appeared to be the most important factor in affecting and changing the life styles of families. But, as revealed by case studies, these changes were not uniform. Education appeared to be more effective in bringing about changes when combined with other factors specially economic factor and urban residence. A detailed account of the result is discussed below.

#### LIFE STYLES OF ILLITERATE RESPONDENTS :

The category of illiterate persons comprised mostly lower income group Hindu family members and few Muslim members of the first generation. They all belonged to the rural areas and were permanent residents of their respective villages with the exception of a few persons.

The similarity in the life styles of almost all members was remarkable. They did not show any concern for education nor did they have the desire to educate their children. The adults were blissfully satisfied in their traditional occupation of farming. Some of them joined Government service in the lower cadres, since they were not educated and also perhaps because they were not conscious of any occupational hierarchy or status associated with each occupation. For them, the job meant a means for daily bread and that was their main concern.

By and large, they were indifferent and showed little concern in regard for their children's education

with the exception of few cases who encouraged their sons for pursuing higher education and seeking a respectable job. This is, again, noteworthy that a few women in this category worked outside home but their task was limited to performing farming chores with their husbands in their own field. In addition, however, like the other housewives, they had to do their household chores as well because they received no help from their husbands. Thus, unlike the other women in whose families the division of labour was based on sex, they had to manage their work at home as well as outside the home. And, in return, they were not given any privilege except a limited say in the process of decision making provided to a few of them. These working women also differed from one another with respect to the practice of observing the veil. Wearing 'ghunghat' was common for women going to the field while in some exceptional cases the women did not observe the veil. Almost all the women in this group had to observe rules of avoidance in the presence of in-laws and close relatives.

The marriage alliances of these respondents were settled by their parents on the basis of caste and family background without allowing them to see their marriage partners before marriage. They were married at a tender age and strongly opposed inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, widow remarriages and divorce remarriages.

Most of these members were highly oriented towards religious practices. Some of them, regardless of their religion, believed in 'mannat' and often visited 'dargah'. However, irregularity and disinterest towards these practices was also visible among some of these members, thus, contradicting the general perception that the illiterate persons in older generation observe religious practices and rituals very regularly, religiously and have blind faith.

The tradition of eating at the 'dastarkhwan' or on the floor was quite visible among these members. Meals was served to males first and females ate later. The strict dividing line of vegetarianism and non-vegetarianism coincided with the Hindu-Muslim dichotomy respectively. Similarly, the Hindus spoke mostly Hindi while Urdu was used by Muslims as their means of communication.

In this illiterate group, the dress style varied among males. While most of the Hindu males wore 'dhoti-kurta', the Muslim males wore 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta-pajama'. 'Saree' was a common dress for Hindu females but some of them also wore 'shirt and lehnga' - the traditional rural attire. The Muslim women attired themselves in 'choodidar pajama' and 'shalwar-suit'. The use of cosmetics was limited to functions, but some of

Hindu women put 'bindi' and 'sindur' most of the time.

The male members in this group did not enjoy a close relationship with their children specially daughters. The females, on the other hand had closer relationship with their daughters. An overwhelming majority of the members in this group gave priority to expenditure on food items. They did not participate in any leisure time activities. Their leisure included gossiping with their visiting neighbours. Their political awareness and participation was limited to casting their vote on the advise of others and sometimes forcibly. However, males were more politically aware than females.

#### LIFE STYLE OF LITERATE RESPONDENTS UPTO HIGH SCHOOL :

Most of the respondents in the literate category belonged to the lower income group regardless of their religious affiliation. Almost all first generation members had a rural background while the second generation members had migrated to urban areas.

Most of the members in this category had received very little or no encouragement from their parents to go in for higher education. Whatever level of education they obtained was mainly due to their own efforts and aspirations. Some of them, who were encouraged by their parents, could not pursue higher studies because of some other factors like lack of finance or prolonged illness.

The case studies reveal that a few women under urban influence realised the need for women's economic independence and hence the desire to take up employment outside home to establish her identity as an individual rather than as an appendage. They felt role conflict and tensions specially because they were left to themselves to efficiently manage their traditional roles along with non-traditional roles. Still, they expressed their desire to continue their job. The influence of education combined with exposure to urban life was reflected in the desire they expressed for their children's and specially daughter's education, and the confidence that they revealed in visualising a fruitful career for their daughters.

Some members realised the importance of higher education and planned a career for themselves but could not achieve their goals for many odd reasons as lack of time, poor economic conditions, early marriages and subsequent family responsibilities. They encouraged their children to achieve what they could not in their life time. It was perhaps natural for them to feel job dissatisfaction and a disgruntled view towards life. In some cases they expressed negative experiences which led to their indifferences and fatalistic attitudes towards their children's future career plans.

Marriage alliance in most of the families were considered important and inter-caste and inter-religious marriages were disapproved. Marriages were arranged by proxy and the main considerations were caste endogamy and the family background of the spouse. Generally the bride and groom had no say in the matter and were docile in their acceptance of their fate. Some exceptions were also observed who decided to get married and then sought the approval of their parents. In these rare cases where the mate selection was made by individual choice, there, too, caste and family background were the main considerations.

Some respondents gave due importance to their children's consent in spouse selection and had no qualms about widow/divorce remarriages. And some also approved inter-caste marriages. A strong disapproval of inter-religious marriages was clearly visible among almost all members.

The traditional division of labour between males and females was quite apparent among these members. For instance, the wives, regardless of whether they were housewives or working women, continued to perform their household duties and did not expect their husbands to share their duties. They believed that household duties were a woman's destiny and man had no share in that realm. These women, however, expected their sons to help with housework.

There was no consistency among these members, as far as the decision making process was concerned. Some men consulted their wives, some consulted their children ; and some others consulted both wives and children. But it should be noted that decision making was considered a man's realm of operation and the final authority rested with men. The intimacy of some parents was quite marked with their children as different from some other parents. The pattern of consumption seemed typical to traditional life styles in some cases as some of the members gave importance only to food while spending family income, while most of the members gave first priority to education on the agenda of family expenditure.

Among some of the members of this category, the concept of leisure was restricted to gossiping and relaxation in their houses, while others spent their free time in reading newspapers and magazines. Some members, who had the means, watched television programmes. A few of them ventured to go to movies or spend time in a restaurant with friends. Males were more politically aware as compared to females. However, most of the men and women participated actively during elections.

The similarity in the religiosity of these members is evident by the fact that an overwhelming majority were regular in observing rituals. Some of them believed in the power of 'mannat' and often visited 'dargah', regardless

of their religion. There were some exceptions who were very irregular or less regular in observing rituals. Some men among both Muslim and Hindu families relaxed rules of purdah/veil observance but the women in almost all families were expected to follow the rules of avoidance in the presence of in-laws and close relatives. Their movements outside home were restricted but not fully prohibited. A few Muslim women moved freely and did not observe purdah. This was mainly due to their involvement in outdoor activities with the support of their husbands. The insistence on wives to observe strict purdah/veil, however, was evident in some cases. They also prohibited their wives from taking up employment outside home.

Most of the Muslims, under this educational category, spoke Urdu while Hindus spoke Hindi with the exception of few Hindus who preferred to use Urdu as their language of communication during the course of interview. Some women with rural upbringing spoke in the typical accent generally associated with rural dialect. Some common English words were also used by most of the members during the course of interview.

As regards dietary habits, differences among Hindus and Muslims were visible in terms of preferences for vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. The Hindus were vegetarian and Muslims were non-vegetarian except a few who now prefer vegetarian dishes for reasons of health.



Having their meals either on floor or 'dastarkhwan' seemed common to all with the exception of a few families who had their meals sometimes sitting at the dining table and chairs but mostly they used 'dastarkhwan' for meals and male-female segregation was practised. The men ate first and the women ate later. In some of the families meals were eaten together.

The dress style of the members differed considerably. Some Muslim males wore 'pant-shirt' 'sherwani', 'kurta-pajama' and women wore 'gharara' and 'shalwar-suits'. While for others 'sherwani' and 'gharara' became secondary to 'pant-shirt' and 'saree' respectively. Some dresses of latest fashion (during those days) like 'bell-bottom' were also worn by the Muslim women at a younger age. A few members, on the other hand, changed their dress style at an older age and now prefer to wear 'kurta-pajama' and 'shalwar-suit' in place of 'pant-shirt' and 'saree' respectively for males and females.

'Saree' was a common feature for female dress for all Hindu women who were also very particular about 'bindi' and 'sindur'. Some Hindu members with rural upbringing wore 'dhoti-kurta' while those with urban background wore 'pant-shirt'. It is noteworthy here that despite their urban residence some of them have now reverted to wearing 'dhoti-kurta'. Some males, who earlier wore 'pant-shirt' outside home now mostly wear

'kurta-pajama' at home and while going outside home as well.

This marked change in dress styles within the same generation and life cycle indicates that western influence was wearing out and a tendency to 'Indianize' their dress style has surfaced.

#### LIFE STYLES OF RESPONDENTS ABOVE HIGH SCHOOL :

The members of this educational category 'Above High School' showed quite similar life styles in most of the aspects. This may be substantiated by the case studies as, for example, most of them aspired for higher educational attainment specially for women so as to enable them to independently plan their occupational careers with the exception of a few persons who considered education to be important but did not favour career women.

Most of the females, in this educational category, were either gainfully employed or had a great desire to work. They were encouraged by husbands/parents to seek employment with the exception of a few cases who were neither encouraged by their husbands/parents nor they themselves were interested in pursuing a career. The other females did not necessarily want to seek employment for economic reasons but most of them wanted to be career women in order to have their own identity and independence.

A majority of the members were career oriented and the unmarried respondents wished to get married after securing a suitable job. In a few exceptional cases they complied by their parent's wishes and would settle for marriage even before completing their studies. Ideally, though they wanted to complete their education before marriage.

Most of the parents gave priority to marriage of girls over career with the exception of a few. While most of the women were married off at a younger age or before completing their education, some were able to go in for further studies after marriage with their husband's support and encouragement.

As regards marriage patterns, the members expressed mixed feelings. The desire and trend of marrying within one's own religion and caste was prominent among most of the members. But in some cases, the members were ready to adjust themselves and were ready to accept an inter-caste alliance if suitable match within one's own caste was not available. In rare cases, inter-religious alliance was also considered suitable if the children so desired firmly.

Most of the members emphasised the need for obtaining their children's consent for a particular marriage alliance, keeping in view the level of education, nature of occupation and other qualities of a person. Most

of them favoured widow and divorcee remarriage; approved inter-caste marriages; and opposed early marriages. Some of them, regardless of religious affiliation, did not approve inter-religious marriage but would yield to the pressure from their children if necessary. This unwillingness to accept inter-religious marriage, stemmed from their recognition of vast cultural differences between marriage partners and the fear that such alliance would result in incompatibility. Such reasoning was not found among other members who wholeheartedly disapproved of inter-religious marriages and rigidly adhered to their traditions.

A majority of younger persons, regardless of religious affiliation, considered religion more important than caste as an important factor for selection of a marriage partner, with the exception of a few for whom neither religion nor caste were important. By and large, it was observed that greater emphasis was laid on mutual interest between marriage partners, high level of education and family background.

While emphasising higher education, most of the boys considered other attributes like perfection in household chores and domestic life and beauty were preferred. Some of them preferred their wives to be career women. These boys were particular about the efficiency with which a wife could run her domestic affairs. They,

however, were willing to share their wife's burden by sharing their household work especially if they happened to be working women. In a few exceptional cases, they did not wish to share household chores, and explained their stance in terms of their ability (in future) to provide a comfortable life through employment of domestic help to family, thus, relieving all family members of household burdens.

The girls also expected help from their prospective husbands with the exception of a few who, like their mothers, considered it the duty of women alone.

On one hand, some male members helped their wives even while they employed part-time domestic helpers. Some others, did not help their wives even if they wanted their help.

In most of the cases, the companionship between husband and wife and close relations between parents and children was evident in their mutual agreement in taking decisions jointly in consultation with children. However, there were a few cases who consulted their children but rarely consulted their wives while taking decisions. The wives, too, did not consider themselves capable of taking decisions. This is the typical traditional pattern of behaviour where the wife is not considered capable of taking decisions specially in areas which are traditionally dominated by men and are considered as men's

prerogatives viz. : authority of spending family income, decisions regarding children's career education, and marriage etc.

The consultation with children may be explained in terms of recognition of high educational qualifications of children. It should be pointed out here that though most of the cases showed greater involvement of wives and children in the process of decision making yet the persistence of male authority in taking final decisions was evident in all families regardless of religious affiliation, income group or generational differences. Some members showed greater intimacy between parents and children while others did not.

As far as religiosity of these members is concerned, they differed greatly and showed no consistent pattern. Generally it appeared that members were not very strict in following rituals. Their ritual practices were justified in terms of health regulation, self discipline and the like. But this was not true to all cases as some members were very strict and regular in observing rituals. Some believed in 'mannat' and some visited 'dargah' quite often.

Most of the women in this educational category, including younger girls did not observe purdah or veil, while some others observed purdah/veil when they moved out of their homes. Their husbands were quite indifferent.

Observance of rules of avoidance was common among an overwhelming majority of married women in this category.

A few boys in the younger generation, wanted their sister to observe purdah but did not force them. They felt that the area in which they lived was not conducive for free movement of girls. The same boys, however, did not wish their prospective wives to observe purdah, because, they felt that married women acquire a different 'status' and could easily be exempted.

Most of the members read magazines, newspapers and books and watched television with the exception of a few mostly because they did not have the same or they lacked interest. These members differ in terms of regularity of reading newspapers and magazines or watching television programme. Male members as compared to female members had more reading habits with the exception of a few younger girls. A few boys, also, were not much interested in reading.

Similarly, females had more interest in watching serials, musical programmes as compared to news and other informative programmes on television. The male members expressed their interest for watching news, sports programmes and informative programmes. Some boys, however, were also found interested in watching musical programmes.

Some younger boys and girls enjoyed some hobbies viz : paintings playing indoor and outdoor games,

embroidary and handicraft, reading magazines, books and novels and cooking during their leisure time.

Visiting cinema halls and restaurants was common among youngsters specially boys. Some of them were not allowed by their parents to move out on their own; some of them occasionally visited with their parents or were not interested themselves in visiting the places; and some could not afford visiting these places. Some girls also visited these places of entertainment frequently.

The older members, on the other hand, rarely indulged in such outings. Now they preferred to visit friends or relatives instead of visting cinema halls and restaurants. Some of them were greatly involved in social work which brought them a sense of satisfaction and entertainment.

Food and education were the main items on the agenda of expenditure of family income for most of these members. Education, however, received first priority for most of the members with the exception of few persons who gave first priority to food. Some members, despite their low income, spent a large part of their income on fruits, dry fruits, milk etc. which, they thought, would be important in the development of healthy mind of their children. Probably their desire to find their children to be highly qualified and well placed led them to do so.



Differences among members were clearly visible with regard to dietary habits and language used as a means of communication. It is apparent that most of the Hindus and Muslims used Hindi and Urdu as their means of communication. But, interestingly, the preference for using Urdu during the conversation was observed among some of the Hindus. These Hindu respondents also seemed to enjoy non-vegetarian dishes.

Preference for vegetarian dishes was also visible among some members of Muslim families mostly because of their concern for health, thereby indicating a different kind of consciousness similar to non-traditional trend where oily and spicy dishes were liked.

Most of the members preferred to eat on dining table and chairs. There were, however, some cases who preferred to eat in traditional manner i.e. either on floor or 'dastarkhwan'. Some of the members whose families did not possess dining table and chairs used centre table and chairs for eating.

English words and sentences mixed with the vernacular seemed to be in vogue. Some youngsters communicated in English. It should be pointed out here that their parents specially fathers, too, were conversant in English. Other youngsters though studying in English medium schools were not much conversant in English or their spoken English was limited mostly to schools as

their parents were not conversant in English.

With regards to dress style, it was observed that 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta-pajama' was a common dress for most of the male members. The use of 'sherwani' was limited to Muslim males. Some younger boys wore jeans, T-shirts, and shorts. Though 'saree' was common to most of the females yet its use was limited to functions for young girls and some Muslim women who otherwise were dressed up in 'shalwar-suit'. The preference and trend of wearing skirt-top and jeans was also observed among young girls specially Hindu girls. Most of the females used jewellery and cosmetics only on festive occasions with the exceptions of a few girls who used light jewellery and make-up even at home also.

It appeared that male members, as compared to female members, were more politically aware and willing to participate in political activities by exercising their right to vote independently with the exceptions of a few males who were found least concerned with political happenings. Some women, also were found to be politically aware and willingly participated in political activities.

Interestingly, a few girls though politically aware and conscious enough regarding political happenings wished to exercise their right to vote on advise of their parents thus contradicting general expectation that political awareness led to independent decision for casting vote.

### COMPARISON OF UPPER INCOME GROUP HINDU AND MUSLIM FAMILIES

The case studies of the upper income group families revealed that all the families under study were nuclear with the exception of one upper class Hindu family and one Muslim family. These families at best can be classified as 'Extended families' because only one parent lived with the family. As they are either sick or too old they do not have much say in family affairs and are dependent on their children and grand children.

It should be pointed out here that ten years ago, the Hindu family could have been classified as a 'joint family' as all the three generations were living together and the oldest male member did have a say in controlling the life style of the family. For instance, during the course of discussion with the present head of the family, that is Mr. Kumar it was revealed that when he purchased a refrigerator from his own income, his father (who had an independent income of his own) objected and considered that the purchase of refrigerator was not desirable.

Apart from this, it was quite apparent that the lady of the house was greatly influenced by her mother-in-law. For instance, she was initiated into performing many rituals viz. 'pooja', 'vrat', 'daan' etc. which she was previously not acquainted with. The influence was so great that even today lady of the house (second generation) after so many

years following the death of her mother-in-law continued to veil herself and avoided talking directly to her ailing father-in-law. Her husband, too, was much dominated by his parents. During the life time of his mother he did not help his wife in any of the household chores. Since the death of his mother he felt freer to help his wife.

In the two Hindu upper income group families the members of the first generation lived mostly in rural areas. They had very little or no education at all and had a low economic status. They had little or no educational or occupational aspirations for the future of their children. The second and third generation are now highly educated and have transformed their style of life moving away from rural influence into urban dwelling families with professional occupations and aspirations for further progress of their children

The upper income group Muslim families as compared to the Hindu families discussed above, are quite different, in this regard. The observation and data shows greater western influence on all the three generations as the first generation male members were highly educated and well placed government officials and hailed from towns rather than villages. The trend of receiving formal higher education continued in the second and third generation. Noteworthy are the differences between the educational background of first generation and subsequent generations

of women. The first generation Muslim women, though literate had no formal education that is to say, they did not go to schools. It must be pointed out here, that the importance of women's education in the first generation of Muslim families is evident by the fact that arrangements were made for educating girls at home by employing English/Anglo Indian governesses. The concept of education in the first generation was woven into the traditional setup where purdah was strictly observed by the women and where the wife hardly had any say in the decision making process. The second and third generation women, in these families, not only received formal education and move freely but are actively involved in the decision making process be it financial matters or educational interests of their children etc. Moreover, they manage some work outside the home as well.

A significant point to be noted here is that in one of these families Mrs. Zaidi continued her educational and occupational pursuits even after marriage with the whole hearted support of her husband. Failing to find a suitable job she is now utilising her educational qualifications by engaging herself in social work. On the other hand, in the other family, Mrs. Farooqui though educated, was neither encouraged by her parents nor her husband nor did she herself show any interest in pursuing a career. Her husband and she do not want their daughter to pursue a

career and, interestingly, the daughter herself whole heartedly agrees with her parents.

The second generation women in the Hindu upper income group families were also encouraged and guided by their husbands to continue their educational pursuits and pursue a career. Some were able to find suitable jobs while others could not. For example, Mrs. Sharma is maintaining her independent career but Mrs. Kumar who taught for some years in a primary school and left the job later on as it did not suit her.

The change in the relationship of husband and wife, in the second generation, was more marked in the Hindu families as compared to Muslim families. In Muslim families, the first generation women, as against the Hindu women, were not engaged in doing household work themselves alone. Since the families belonged to upper income group they employed servants and, hence, there was no question of the husbands to help their wives in household chores. But the division of labour demarcating the area of responsibility was precise i.e. women stayed inside house supervising the household management through servants, while the men entrusted themselves with outside affairs making their own decisions.

The marital relations between husband and wife of first generation though cordial were yet not informal in the sense of what is generally, today, considered as

'companionship'. The husband-wife relations in the second generation of both Hindu and Muslim families are friendly and appear to be more of companionship than of a super/subordinate nature. The third generation also laid greater emphasis on this concept of 'Companionship'. Thus indicating a trend of change at inter-generational level in this regard. The network of family relations is more intimate in the second and third generation as compared to first and second generation with the exception of few cases like Mr. Sharma's daughter. During the course of interview it was observed that she did not feel free to speak to her father and used her mother as an intermediary though she told the researcher that she talks freely to her parents.

In all families, irrespective of their religious affiliation, marriage proposals of first generation members were settled through proxy keeping in view the caste and family background. In the second and third generations, educational attainment and nature of occupation assumed greater importance. Members of the third generation expressed their great desire to be well acquainted with their prospective marriage partners as they attached much importance to similarity of views and interests of prospective marriage partners in addition to level of education.

Most of the male members in the third generation preferred their prospective wives to be career women. Very few of them necessarily wanted their wives to be career women e.g. Mr. Sharma's son who, interestingly, wants his sister to get married as soon as a suitable match is found even at the cost of her education/career. The reason that he gave for his 'dual' standards was 'money consideration' which accounts to saying why spend more on a girl's education if she can find a husband ?

In contrast to first generation members, most of the second and third generation members opposed child marriages and favoured widow and divorcee remarriages. A few of them were ready to accept, inter-caste and even inter-religious marriages, for instance, Mrs. and Mr. Zaidi and Mrs. and Mr. Kumar. On one hand, some male members of the third generation in one Muslim family and one Hindu family believed that caste and religion is no bar (Mr. Zaidi and Mr. Kumar's son). On the other hand, one female member of third generation is firm in her belief that one should marry within one's own religion (e.g. Zaidi's daughter). Most of the other members of the third generation wanted to respect their parent's wishes. Thus, a prominent change is visible at inter-generational level in regard to marriage patterns.

Certain other traditions also seemed to have lost their importance, such as observance of purdah/veil and



observance of religious rituals, in the second and markedly in the third generation of most of the Hindu and Muslim families. It is interesting to note that there is a clear indication of dilution in purdah practices in the Muslim families but the women of the second generation, still, observed rules of avoidance. Some of the women of first generation like Mr. Zaidi's mother, gave up 'burqa' after coming to Aligarh, though covers her head while going outside home. In the Hindu families, Mrs. Sharma despite her educational background and occupational status, continues to observe veil and rules of avoidance in the presence of her in-laws whenever they visit her home. On the other hand, Mrs. Kumar veils herself while going outside home and observed religious rituals religiously.

Most of the members of second and third generation are less regular in observing religious rituals and rationalized their feelings about pursuing rituals in terms of the functional utility of rituals. For example they would offer prayers and observe fast not simply because prayers are ordained but because, they feel, prayers and fasts would bring discipline and health to them. Similarly, if they would proceed for pilgrimage, they would justify their actions in terms of trying to see the world also rather than simply a religious duty. Some of the second and third generation members, however, were

found regular in observing rituals regularly. Some of them believed in 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah'.

In the four families of the upper income group the first generation gave much importance to expenditure on food. There is a clear indication that expenditure on food received first priority and expenditure on other items was comparatively much restricted specially in Hindu families. In the subsequent generations, though food remained an important agenda on expenditure, there was a definite rise in expenditure on consumer goods as almost all families owned sofa sets, T.V. sets, refrigerators, scooters etc. and one family also owned a car (Mr. Farooqui's family). The generational changes in the Hindu upper income group families are quite marked and in this respect both the Hindu families are similar. Their priorities in life, as different from first generation, are to educate their children and provide them with a 'westernised' set up including higher education, non-traditional occupation, use of consumer goods, modern amenities exposure to mass media, various sources of entertainment etc. However, it was observed that in one family (i.e. Mr. Sharma's) members adhered to the traditional style of dining where parents mostly sat on the floor to eat. The third generation resented this and insisted upon eating at the dining table which, unfortunately, the family did not own. These children expressed their dissatisfaction and

complained that they did not like to eat meals sitting on the floor. In the absence of dining table and chairs they used sofa and centre table for eating. This is not the case with Mr. Kumar's family where all family members sat together at the dining table to eat their meals. Mrs. Kumar served her family first (despite their resistance) but join them before the dinner ends.

In these Hindu families the first generation was vegetarian. In contrast, third generation including boys and girls are non-vegetarian. Very few male members in the second generation also like Mr. Kumar, enjoyed non-vegetarian dishes under the influence of his Muslim friends. In these families non-vegetarian dishes are mostly brought from restaurants and are served in utensils other than of daily use. In addition, these members have these dishes at their friend's home also. This indicates a marked change at inter-generational level in terms of food habits. The Muslim families, on the other hand, did not show any significant change in food habits except the change in the tradition of serving meals first to male members separately and comparatively greater use of dining table and chairs for eating with spoons and forks.

The dress style, in the Muslim families, showed a decline in use of 'sherwani' and 'gharara' which became secondary to 'pant-shirt', 'saree' and 'shalwar-suit' respectively. In the Hindu families, the second and first

generation women dressed similarly. The use of 'saree', 'bindi' and 'sindur' was common to all women with the exception of few cases like Mrs. Sharma who wears mostly gown commonly referred to as a housecoat, at home and rarely uses 'bindi' and 'sindur'. The third generation girls do not dress themselves in a traditional manner and wear western clothes including 'pant', 'skirt-top', in addition to 'shalwar-suit'. The dress of male members remained similar in one Hindu family, i.e. Mr. Kumar's family where the male members of all generations wore 'pant-shirt' but Mr. Kumar's father who used to wear pant-shirt, now wears 'dhoti-kurta' perhaps he is mostly confined to bed. While in Mr. Sharma's family 'dhoti-kurta' is completely replaced by 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta pajama' in the second and third generation.

The use of jeans, shorts, T-shirts was also observed among male members of younger generation. It is noteworthy here that the younger generation was more conscious regarding dress style than older generation as exemplified by Mr. Zaidi's daughter who suggests to her father how to match the 'pant-shirt'. Mr. Zaidi is not much concerned with dress fashions. His son prefers to wear jeans which he does not like.

Language as a means of communication is an important index of life style. Thus, particular attention was paid to the style of language used by the respondents

under study. Spoken English stands out as a distinctive feature in one Muslim and one Hindu upper income group family as compared to other families. It is interesting to note that those members who were conversant in English were also conversant in Urdu and, conversely, some Hindu members who were not comfortable with English could not converse freely in Urdu and preferred to speak in Hindi with the use of some ordinary Urdu words.

The upper income group Muslim family whose members were not much conversant in English spoke Urdu fluently and had no training in Hindi while some male members in Hindu families, as is evident in Mr. Kumar's case, spoke sophisticated Urdu fluently. Thus, in the Hindu families the linguistic pattern of the members of the second generation has changed significantly. Changes are also apparent in regard to education, income and occupation as compared to the first generation. Certain traditions continued to punctuate their life and these carry over of the past are likely to change in the third generation. The exposure to mass media, leisure time activities, varied sources of entertainment and political awareness was more or less absent among most of the females of the first generation. The second and third generation members specially males show greater involvement and interest in these spheres in general and political awareness in particular. The demand and desire for possession of more

consumer goods, and physical comfort was greater among the younger generation as compared to older generation who led a simpler life with greater emphasis on spiritual satisfaction rather than looking for material comforts.

Not many differences were observed in the life styles of Muslim families at inter-generational level. However, changes are visible more specifically regarding women's education and occupation and purdah practices pattern of division of labour and family network. Moreover, the younger generation is quite different from the older generation in the observance of religious practices, marriage patterns etc. and showed comparatively greater interest and involvement in various sources of entertainment, leisure time activities, mass media and political awareness.

#### COMPARISON OF LOWER INCOME GROUP HINDU AND MUSLIM FAMILIES

The case studies of lower income group families show that all the families under study were nuclear families. An overwhelming majority of first generation members came from rural areas. Only few of them had urban background. Their educational level was considerably low. The number of members who were illiterate was very high and those who were literate, were educated upto the middle level. Most of the second generation members showed an increased desire for receiving higher education which,

unfortunately could not be fulfilled and they could not attain the level of education they desired. They displayed quite marked and greater educational and career aspirations for their children, including girls, than those of their own. But in some families, even now, marriage of girl is given precedence over career. Some of the girls in the third generation, too, do not oppose their parent's wishes but they want, at least, to complete their educational pursuits before marriage e.g. Mr. Aqeel's and Mr. Singh's daughter. The desire of being highly educated and to be in a respectable job was quite prominent among girls who give preference to career over marriage.

Though young boys in most of the cases attached immense importance to higher education, their career aspirations varied significantly. Some of them wanted to join service and others wanted to establish their own large scale business. These boys feel that business will help them earn substantial amount of money in short time which, in turn, can be invested to secure various consumers items symbolic of status in the society. Some of them did not want to work under any authority so that they could maintain their own identity, e.g. Mr. Gupta's son.

Most of the parents in the second generation wanted their children to be highly educated and in a respectable job except a few ones like Mr. Aqeel who, though wants his

children to be highly educated yet was indifferent regarding their career. He believes that fate will get him his due. His wife who is a working women, however, expressed a great desire for her children to be in a respectable job preferably doctor or engineer. Consequently, she constantly supports and encourages them in their endeavour to achieve their goal. It is noteworthy here that while the unfulfilled dreams of other parents, with regard to their educational and occupational pursuit, led them to encourage and support their children for their educational and occupational pursuit, Mr. Aqeel's unfulfilled dreams led him to have indifferent attitudes regarding his children's career.

In the two Muslim families of low income group, the members of the third generation, both boys and girls, are receiving education through English medium, while in the other two Hindu families, only boys enjoyed this privilege due to financial constraints and the girls studied in Hindi medium schools. Spoken English in the families, however, is rare and is spoken by the children in schools. The Muslim families spoke mostly ordinary, urdu while Hindu families spoke ordinary vernacular Hindi.

It should be pointed out here that during the course of the study it was observed that the children in the Muslim families did not show any significant difference in their linguistic skills while a marked



difference was observed among the children of Hindu families where the boys spoke with a better accent than girls. Some of the girls tried to use English words and sentences during conversation but their faulty pronunciation and weak sentence construction signalled the lack of instruction in English as in the case of Mr. Gupta's daughter. It must also be added here that she felt somewhat embarrassed that she was not quite well-versed with English. This embarrassment also led her to provide incorrect information on other matters such as subscription to newspapers. She insisted that the family subscribed to newspapers, but during the course of interview her father inadvertently told the researcher that he read the newspaper at his shop as his family did not subscribe to any newspapers. The dilemma faced by Mr. Gupta's daughter becomes apparent here - she perhaps feels that subscription to a newspaper is "status" symbol just as speaking English.

Marked changes may be observed at inter-generational level in terms of marriage patterns, in all the four families. While the importance of educational level and nature of occupation was recognised by the members of the second generation, caste and family background still played important role at the time of negotiation of marriage proposals. The third generation laid greater emphasis on personal qualities of the spouse in addition

to education and job. This may be justified by the changing and increasing trend of becoming acquainted with the future spouse before marriage as against the first generation. The first generation members had not even seen their marriage partners before marriage. The desire to be well acquainted with the marriage partner was found in some cases in the second generation specifically of Muslim families and was more marked in the third generation.

A marked change could also be observed regarding the attitudes towards child marriages, divorcee remarriages and widow remarriages. As opposed to the first generation the subsequent generations showed positive attitudes towards divorcee remarriages and widow remarriages and negative attitudes towards child marriages. Inter-caste and inter-religious marriages were not willingly approved by all generations. But this is not true of the members of all families. For instance, in one Hindu family the son though favours widow remarriages yet does not wish to see a divorce to get married as he feels that they (divorcees) may have some qualities that will lead to further divorce (for example Mr. Singh's son). On the other hand, in the other Hindu family the son approved even inter-religious marriages (for example Mr. Gupta's son).

The members of the second and third generation showed a preference for rise in age at marriage but the

second generation women of the Hindu families were married off at a younger age. The desire to get married after having a job is quite prominent among both boys and girls of the third generation.

The division of labour between the sexes and dominance of male authority is evident in the first generation of all families. This trend seemed to continue even in the second generation. Some women like Mrs. Anees opposed this trend and wanted her husband's help in household chores. While the other women in the second generation considered it their bounden duty to perform household chores and did not want their husband's help. The third generation members viewed husband-wife relationship as relationship of companionship rather than one of domination and subordination. The boys expressed their desire to help their prospective wives in case she is working and they often helped their mothers and sisters. The girls were also found willing to take their prospective husband's help except a few girls like Mr. Singh's daughter who, like her mother, considered household chores a women's duty.

The two Hindu families made it clear that there were women in the second generation who have no say in the process of decision making. They, too, did not consider themselves capable of taking any decision and were dependent upon their husbands and children. They were

given fixed money for household expenditure or their husbands buy all necessary goods for home. The women in the lower income group Muslim families were more confident and were often consulted by their husbands while taking decisions. The reason may be explained in terms of comparatively a higher educational level and independent economic existence of Mrs. Anees and Mrs. Aqeel respectively. However, the authority of taking decision rested in the hands of their husbands. This indicates a comparatively better compatibility for Muslim women in the second generation but persistence of male domination seems to continue.

Though the members of the third generation showed favourable attitudes towards women's employment outside home, yet the boys did not necessarily want their wives to be career women. For example in Mr. Gupta's family the boy was not sure why his wife should work when he would have a handsome income for family expenditure. The younger generation recognised the importance of education in raising the status of women in the family. They felt that this would make the women more confident, independent and capable of managing household chores as well as help them work outside home. This recognition was quite prominent in few cases. For instance Mr. Gupta's daughter and Mr. Singh's son who gave much emphasis on women's education which, they felt, was necessary not only for the better

status of women in the family but also for the welfare of coming generations. They felt that their mother's lack of education was responsible for their low status in the family.

No consistent pattern, in terms of the religiosity of the members of all families, could be observed. The two Hindu families differed from one another. In one family (Mr. Singh's family) first generation members were very regular in observing religious rituals and believed in 'mannat' and visited 'dargah' but, in contrast, the second and third generation males are very irregular in observing rituals. Some of them perform these rituals from scientific or rational point of view. The females in the family are comparatively more religious than males. In contrast, the first generation of other Hindu family were not much concerned with religious practices. The third generation, as against their parents, is not as regular and religious and have scientific as well as religious orientation towards these religious practices e.g. Mr. Gupta's family.

In both the Muslim lower income group families, the first generation was very regular and religious in the observance of religious practices. In one family (Mr. Aqeel's family) the male members of the second and third generation continued the trend while the second family (Mr. Anees family) showed a decline in the strict adherence of religious practices. In one Hindu and one

Muslim family the first generation believed in the concept of 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah'. This belief was absent in other members of the four families.

The first generation in most of the cases gave priority to expenditure on food while spending family income. In the second and third generation the priority shifted from expenditure on food to education. But the income under this head is spent on formal schooling. The two Hindu families did not subscribe to newspapers or magazines. In contrast to the first generation, the male members of second generation and most of the members of third generation displayed a keen interest in world affairs and read newspapers and magazines borrowed from neighbours or friends. Thus, exposure to mass media and political awareness which was more or less absent in the first generation was successively more prominent among the male members of the second generation and the third generation. All the four families owned T.V. sets and most of the members utilised their leisure time in watching television.

The desire to possess luxury items is observable in the third generation members. This desire was quite marked in the cases of the boys in one Hindu and one Muslim family, for instance, Mr. Anees and Mr. Gupta's son. These boys wanted to be highly educated and laid much emphasis on establishing their own business as they believed that

highly educated persons could run business more efficiently. They believed that business rather than service can allow them to acquire luxury items and would help them to lead a comfortable life. The other members of the second and third generation laid greater emphasis on what they considered a "respectable" job and the prestige associated with it. However, the desire of a westernised life style was apparent in most of the cases of third generation. For example, most of them are studying or want to study in English medium schools; prefer to have their meals on dining table and chairs; wear westernised clothes like 'pant-shirt', jeans, skirt etc., better exposed to mass media, have a great desire to use consumer goods etc.

A marked change can be observed regarding dress patterns, at inter generational level, in the two Hindu families where 'dhoti-kurta' - the traditional attire of first generation was replaced by 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta-pajama' in the second and third generation. In one family 'saree' remained a common dress for first and second generation. The other family, as indicated by data, showed comparatively greater change in female dress pattern where the 'shirt-lehnga' - the traditional dress of first generation females - was replaced by 'saree' in the second generation. The younger generation dress is 'shalwar-suit' and western skirt and blouse and 'saree' for formal occasions in most of the cases. The use of

'bindi' and 'sindur' was common to the women of first and second generation.

So far as the dress pattern in Muslim families is concerned, changes are observable in female dress style as indicated by the greater use of 'shalwar-suit' and sometimes 'saree' in place of 'gharara' or 'choodidar pajama' in the second and third generation. In some families 'pant-shirt' is a usual dress for the male members of the second and third generation. Besides these, 'sherwani' occupies an important place for formal occasions as exemplified by Mr. Anees' case. The other Muslim family though showed a consistency across generations in the use of 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta-pajama', yet the head of the family now always wears 'kurta-pajama' with jacket scarf and cap e.g. Mr. Aqeel. It is interesting to note that in the same family the woman of the second generation i.e. Mr. Aqeel's wife wore "bell bottom" and some other dresses of latest fashion when she visited Bombay. Now, she wears mostly 'shalwar-suit' and sometimes 'saree' but her daughter does not wear dress other than 'shalwar-suit' except 'saree' occasionally in functions.

It is also noteworthy that Mr. Anees's daughter stopped wearing jeans when the family shifted to Jamalpur area as the area was considered rather conservative. Similarly, Mr. Gupta who wore 'pant-shirt' now mostly wears 'kurta-



pajama'. Mr. Singh's daughter who used to wear skirt during her childhood replaced her attire by 'shalwar-suit' when she grew older. Such cases indicated that dress pattern are changed according to age and environment.

With regard to dietary habits, it was found that the first and second generation preferred to eat sitting on the floor or 'takht' or they used ordinary table and chairs for eating as the families did not have dining table and chairs. There is an indication of change in the dietary habits of some young male members of Hindu families as exemplified by Mr. Singh's son and Mr. Gupta's son. These boys started having non-vegetarian dishes, as against their parents and grand parents, at their friend's home or restaurants, while the other members of these families continued the tradition of vegetarianism.

Visiting cinema halls and restaurants was a rare phenomenon for all generations but younger generation visited these places of entertainment more frequently as compared to the older generations. In most of the families boys visited quite often as compared to the girls who were either not allowed by their parents or did not want, themselves, to go.

No consistent trend could be observed regarding the political awareness and participation among the members of the families. However, it was visible that younger

generation was comparatively politically more aware than the members of the older generation. Also, males of the second generation were more politically aware than the women of the same generation. On one hand, a few male members of second generation were actively engaged in local politics for example Mr. Anees. On the other hand, some members of the third generation, though politically aware did not show much interest in exercising their right to vote, for example, Mr. Singh's daughter.

#### COMPARISON OF UPPER AND LOWER INCOME GROUP HINDU FAMILIES

Comparison of the case studies of upper income group and lower income group Hindu families revealed that most of the members of the first generation had their roots in villages and were either illiterate or semi educated. Very few of them had urban experiences. No religious education was imparted to any of the members of these families. And, interestingly, inspite of giving one's own religious education, 'madarsa' education was provided to a few respondents during their childhood years, for example, Mrs. Sharma was send by her father to 'madarsa' with the children of neighbouring Muslims.

The lack of formal education among most of the first generation members can be attributed largely to ignorance from parents, village background and death of any of the parents. They did not have any educational and occupational aspirations for the future of their children.

Most of the second generation males could study due to their own efforts with little or no encouragement from parents with the exception of a few like Mr. Kumar whose father encouraged him for educational pursuit. As against the first generation, the second generation in almost all families are much concerned with their children's future and constantly support them in regard to their educational and occupational pursuits.

The difference between upper and lower income group Hindu families is quite marked in terms of women's education. The upper income group women of second generation, whose parents had sound economic background with roots in urban areas, were encouraged by their parents for educational pursuit but they were married off whenever a suitable match was found. They also received encouragement and support from their husbands for further educational and occupational pursuit.

The lower income group women, on the other hand, whose parents though economically sound had low educational background and lived in villages, were encouraged neither by their parents nor by husbands with regard to educational pursuit. Now they perform the role of housewives and are fully satisfied with their lives. Being less educated they are not considered by their husbands as capable of taking any decisions. They, too, do not consider themselves capable for the same. Their

husbands often consult their children for taking decisions keeping in view their educational qualifications.

These women are totally devoted to serve the family and performing household chores and feel happy and satisfied in doing the same. Neither do their husbands help them nor do they expect help from their husbands. Their children, including sons, sometimes help them in household chores. They feel that the lack of their mother's education is responsible for their low status in the family. And this had led them to believe that education is necessary in one's life, in general, and woman in particular whose education is helpful for the future of the coming generation. Some of the boys in these families, for example-Mr. Singh's son, felt that had his mother been educated she would have been able to guide him properly because at present, being less educated, she did not guide or help him in his studies.

The women of upper income group families are more confident and independent. Being highly educated, they wanted to utilise their educational qualifications or supplement their family income by working outside home. They felt tired in managing their two roles yet did not want to confine themselves to home. They were properly encouraged by their husbands in this regard. Their husband often help them in household chores. Decisions are taken jointly, regarding important matters, in consultation with

children and husband-wife maintain joint Bank accounts. Though the final authority of taking decisions lies in the hands of the husband, yet the upper income group families indicated more friendly relations between husband and wife as compared to lower income group families. The parent-child relations are more intimate among the second and third generation as different among the first and second generation in most of the families.

Most of these Hindu families, both lower and upper, showed a common trend regarding the marriage of first generation who were married mostly at a tender age. Their marriages were arranged by their parents taking into account caste and family background and they did not see their marriage partners before marriage. But when we came down the generations these marriage patterns have changed significantly in the second generation and are more likely to change in the third generation.

The third generation attaches much significance to similarity in views and interests of marriage partners in addition to higher educational and occupational level. Consequently, they expressed desire to be well acquainted with or to see their marriage partners before marriage. Most of them are sure that their parents would allow them for the same. While some of them are doubtful whether the parents would allow or not, for instance, Mr. Singh's

daughter. A notable difference can be observed between the boys of upper and lower income families. The boys in upper income group Hindu families preferred their prospective wives to be working women. This preference could not be found among the lower income group boys and, in fact, some of them, like Mr. Gupta's son, did not want his prospective wife to work outside home.

A prominent change is apparent, at inter-generational level, in most of the families regarding other marriage practices. For instance, most of the members of the second and third generation, as against the first generation, showed either favourable or indifferent attitudes for divorcee remarriages and widow remarriages and showed negative attitudes towards child marriages. Inter-caste marriages are now approved by some members but they are against inter-religious marriages. Some boys in both upper and lower income families (Mr. Kumar's and Mr. Gupta's son) easily approved inter-religious marriages.

It should be pointed out here that the upper and lower income group Hindu families differed from one another in terms of the explanation given by them for avoiding or disapproving inter-religious marriages. Most of the parents in the upper income group families wanted to avoid inter-religious marriages due to the recognition of vast cultural differences between marriage partners and resulting incompatibility among them. On the other hand,

the lower income group families, besides recognition of cultural differences were afraid of the criticism and objection from relatives and neighbours. The same trend was pointed out by Mrs. Kumar while discussing marriage patterns. She revealed that some of her relatives had made inter-religious marriage alliances but as they belonged to upper income group families no one criticised them. Had such an alliance taken place among lower income group, the inter-religious marriages would have been firmly opposed.

Most of these families showed a definite decline in the observance of religious rituals with subsequent generations. The second and third generation seemed to be more scientifically oriented despite their religious orientation. But this was not true to all cases as in some cases the first generation (quite different from second generation) was not very regular in observing rituals as exemplified by Mr. Gupta's parents. In some other cases the females of the first, second and third generation regularly observed rituals as compared to the male members. The concept of 'mannat' and visiting 'dargah' was present among some of the members of the first generation and totally absent in the third generation. The belief in 'mannat' was found among some second generation males with higher educational and upper income background like Mr. Sharma.

There is a clear indication of dilution in the practice of observing veil for the second generation women specially after coming to Aligarh, yet few of them veiled their face and most of them observed rules of avoidance in the presence of in-laws and close relatives.

The first generation members in most of the families placed much emphasis on food while spending family income. The second generation gave first priority to education with the exception of few cases who still give importance and first priority to food as was observed in Mr. Kumar's case. Most of the members of third generation wanted to include decoration of house and possession of luxurious/comfortable items on agenda of family expenditure.

As different from the first generation, who had no leisure time activities as such except resting and gossiping, the second generation and third generation members specially males used their leisure time mostly by watching television, reading books, newspapers and magazines. Reading newspaper regularly was a common habit for most of the male members. The second generation women, in lower income group, were less exposed to mass media and different sources of entertainment. An overwhelming majority of third generation used their leisure time in reading informative magazines, watching informative programmes on television followed by musical



programmes and sports programmes. They visited cinema halls and restaurants - a practice that seemed's unknown to the first generation and was rare among second generation. But the upper income group children and boys visited these places more frequently as compared to lower income group children and girls respectively.

A similar dress pattern was observed among the members of first generation as most of the male members wore 'dhoti-kurta' except a few ones like Mr. Kumar's father who wore 'pant-shirt' when he was young but now he wears 'dhoti' and 'kurta'. In the second and third generation, 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta-pajama' completely replaced the use of 'dhoti-kurta'. Some male members in the third generation also wear shorts and jeans. And some males in the second generation, of lower income group families preferably wear 'kurta-pajama' outside home. Saree continued a common dress for females of first and second generation. They always wore 'sindur' and 'bindi'. Very few of them, like Mrs. Sharma, does not necessarily put 'bindi' and 'sindur' always. The girls in younger generation wear 'shalwar suit', skirt top, pants and 'saree' for different occasions but some of them wear 'shalwar-suit' for all occasions like Mr. Singh's daughter.

A noteworthy change could also be observed in terms of food habits among the members of these families. The tradition of vegetarianism is continued among second

generation except a few upper income group male members like Mr. Kumar. Most of the members, in upper and lower income group families, of third generation are non-vegetarian but the girls of lower income group are vegetarian. Similarly, some of the upper income group families, as is evident in Mr. Kumar's case, had their meals on dining table and chairs, while in the other upper income group family, like the two lower income group families, food is served in a traditional manner that is to say meals is served on the floor which the third generation do not like as they want to have meals sitting on the dining table (which the families did not own) with the exception of few who liked to have meals on the floor.

In almost all families, for the first generation members, Hindi constituted the means of communication. A noteworthy change in the means of communication occurred over a period of time. This is evident from the fact that some of the members of the second and third generation were conversant in English and Urdu i.e. (Mr. Kumar and his children), some of them spoke Urdu as well as Hindi (e.g. Mrs. Sharma and Mr. Gupta) some others preferred to speak in Hindi (for instance Mr. Sharma, Mr. Singh and Mr. Singh's daughter); and most of them used fair blend of Urdu, Hindi and English while communicating. The lower income group women displayed the typical accent of their rural dialect.

In contrast to their grand parents, the upper income group children frequently visit cinema halls and restaurants as compared to the children of lower income group families. Boys more than girls visit these places. A few girls, like Mr. Singh's daughter, do not move around restaurants or cinema halls. The second generation members specially lower income group rarely visit these places.

The younger generation in almost all families showed greater political awareness as compared to older generations. Some of them, however, though politically aware yet did not want to exercise their right to vote, for example Mr. Singh's daughter. Most of the male members in all generations, had greater political awareness and participation as compared to females.

#### COMPARISON OF UPPER AND LOWER INCOME GROUP MUSLIM FAMILIES

The case studies of upper and lower income group Muslim families showed that some of the first generation members belonged to rural areas while some other member belonged to urban areas.

A noteworthy difference between the two groups relates to the occupation patterns of the first generation members of the lower and upper income groups. Male members of the first generation of upper income group families, were mostly well placed government officials, while most of the male members in the lower income group were either farmers or 4th grade employees in government offices.

A majority of female members of first generation received education at home and never went to schools. Some of them, however, were not allowed/encouraged to receive education even at home. Religious education, however, was imparted not only to an overwhelming majority of the first generation but to second and third generation as well. The second generation members, including women received proper encouragement for their education and occupational pursuit from their parents (specially fathers) with the exception of a few cases, like Mr. Aqeel, whose parents were rather indifferent towards their children's education and career.

It is interesting to note that as the females of first generation in lower income group families were illiterate or had very little access to education, they realised that they lacked the confidence, efficiency and capability for managing different outside affairs properly. Besides these, they also realised that this weakness proved to be an obstacle in leading an independent life which was characteristic of educated women in general and career women in particular. Therefore, they wanted and encouraged their children, specially daughters, to receive higher education and pursue a career.

Most of the second generation members showed greater educational and occupational aspirations for their children. The children, too, showed quite marked

educational and occupational aspirations for themselves. But this was not true to all cases. For instance, Mr. Aqeel who realised that his parents' disinterest and poor financial conditions were responsible for his lack of education, yet he is not much concerned with his children's career though he wants them to be highly educated. Similarly, Mr. Farooqui though encourages his daughter to go in for higher education yet does not want her to pursue a career. His daughter, too, did not show interest in pursuing a career.

The lower income group women showed a great desire and involvement in working outside the home despite their role stress since their husbands in no way believed in helping them in household chores. Some of them did not expect help from their husbands. Their upper income group counterparts, on the other hand, shared their household chores with their husbands. These women in both the upper and lower income group families showed comparatively greater involvement in decision making process than the first generation. Children are also consulted while taking decisions. The wives are free to spend their family income regardless of whether it is their own or of their husbands, thus indicating more intimate family network of relations.

In regard to observance of purdah it was found that most of the second generation women, regardless of

income group, did not adhere to this observance and moved freely. But, like the first generation, they observed rules of avoidance in the presence of close relatives and in-laws and some of them observed purdah at their in-laws place. Mrs. Farooqui is an example in the case. A majority of the third generation girls did not observe purdah except Mr. Farooqui's daughter who still continues her grand mother's tradition and observes purdah but only at her native place. This shows a definite shift in the attitudes towards purdah practices when compared to first generation women majority of whom observed strict purdah. Some of them however, for example Mr. Zaidi's mother, left observing strict purdah after coming to Aligarh from Lakhimpur Khiri.

As regards observance of rituals it was observed that the families showed a decline and irregularity in the observances, over a period of time, as we come down the generations. However, some of the members in third generation regularly observe rituals as exemplified by Mr. Anees' and Aqeel's sons and Mr. Anees' and Mr. Zaidi's daughters. The members of these families differed greatly from one another in terms of their beliefs regarding 'mannat' and visit to 'dargah'.

The four Muslim families showed a definite change in regard to marriage patterns. For instance, the pattern of intra-caste arranged marriages by proxy, has changed to

some extent in the second generation and more so in third generation. Members of the third generation want to acquaint themselves with their marriage partners before marriage, and emphasised on education, occupation and common interests, in addition to other qualities, for spouse selection. The attitudes regarding child marriages, divorcee and widow remarriages, inter-caste and inter-religious marriages have changed considerably with favourable attitudes for widow and divorcee remarriages and negative attitudes for early marriages. Most of them approve inter-caste marriage and a few of them were ready to accept inter-religious marriages keeping in view their children's desire.

The priority of spending family income on food continued to remain the same in the second generation of most of the families but some members of the second generation and some members of third generation gave much importance to education over food. The desire of possessing modern gadgets and luxury items and decorating the house in a modern way was present among most of the members of second and third generation, in general, and in lower income group families in particular. While the upper income group families traditionally owned luxury items, the lower income group families seemed to have a desire of achieving a 'higher status' in the society through acquisition of luxury items and better occupational

positions. The upper income group families maintained and increased the tradition of subscribing to newspaper and magazines in the subsequent generations. In the lower income group families the second and third generation, unlike first generation, were more interested in reading newspapers and magazines and that is why they often borrowed the magazines from others. Most of the second generation members in all families utilise their time in watching television, reading magazines and books. Some of them also utilise their leisure time in social work e.g. Mr. Anees and Mrs. Zaidi.

Watching television, listening to music, reading different magazines, playing are some of the common leisure time activities for third generation in almost all families. Very few of them, in upper income group families also paint during leisure time. (For example Mr. Zaidi's daughter). The younger generation specially boys frequently visit cinema halls and restaurants as compared to older generations.

The observation shows that one upper income group family members (Mr. Zaidi's family) were much conversant in English as compared to other family whose members, though being educated, were less conversant in English and used English words and sentences while communicating in Urdu (e.g. Mr. Farooqui's family). Spoken English was rare and limited mostly to college going students among the



third generation of lower income group families though they were studying in English medium schools. These families mostly used Urdu as their means of communication.

With regard to dietary habits, no significant difference or change was observed, in the upper income group families except the change in the tradition of serving meals first to male members. The preference for vegetarian dishes among some members of the second and third generation and the preference for eating on dining table is marked among most of the third generation members in lower income group families. While in the upper income group families meals is served on dining table and chairs, in lower income families it is served on 'dastarkhwan'.

As far as dress style is concerned, 'pant-shirt' and 'kurta pajama' is a common dress for most of the male members in all families. Some second and third generation members, like the first generation, also wear 'sherwani' for formal occasions. Some of the boys in younger generation also wear T-shirts, jeans i.e. modern western clothes. The female dress pattern changed considerably with the replacement of 'gharara' by 'saree' and 'shalwar-suit' in the second and third generation. The younger generation mostly wear 'shalwar-suit' and 'saree' rarely in functions. The use of cosmetics and jewellery only on formal occasions was common for majority of women of all generation in these families except very few cases

like Mr. Farooqui's daughter who uses light jewellery and cosmetics even at home.

Political awareness and participation though was present among some members, specially male members of first generation, yet some of them were dependent upon others for casting their vote. Females of first generation were mostly politically ignorant. They did not know in whose favour they should cast their mandate and were dependent on husbands for the same. The second and third generation, in general, and women in particular showed a substantial growth in political awareness and participation with the exception of a few cases who want to exercise their right to vote on advise of their husband or parents as exemplified by Mrs. Farooqui and Mr. Zaidi's daughter.

CHAPTER - V

DISCUSSION

A N D

CONCLUSION

The foregoing results show that on a comparative basis, education can not be singled out as the only factor affecting life styles of families. Other factors such as economic background, inter-generational gap and residential experiences (rural-urban), in combination with the level of education appeared to be more effective in bringing about change.

The study revealed that the family structure in almost all families, regardless of religious affiliation, level of education or income group, showed marked similarity. All families had a nuclear structure with parents living with their dependent unmarried children with the exception of two families viz. : a Hindu family where an ailing first generation father was living with his son; and a Muslim family where an old mother frequently visited and stayed with her son and his family. The other married brothers/sisters were residing with their own families in different places. This indicates the preference for nuclear family and there was no indication of a desire to perpetuate the joint family. The preference for nuclear family can perhaps be attributed to migration to urban areas or the impact of urban living.

Most of the families under study showed a marked change at the inter-generational level in terms of almost all aspects of life styles but strict adherence to some traditional patterns of behaviour was observed even in the

third generation. The perpetuation of some traditions in third generation indicates that the impact of education was not alike among the members of families with similar levels of education. Economic background, exposure to urban life and generation gap (age) were also important in affecting the life styles of families with varying degree. For instance, it is apparent that in upper income group Muslim families the male members of the first generation were highly educated largely because of their high economic status and better opportunities to educate themselves. The western influence, especially relating to higher educational attainment and non-traditional occupations, patterns of consumption and emphasis on consumerism was quite evident from the use of fancy furniture and non-traditional items such as dining table set, luxurious sofa sets, T.V. set, Refrigerator etc. Their meticulous speech form (both in English and Urdu), their dress style (use of pant-shirt), their enlightened social and political outlook and awareness of the outside world and their dietary habits, all smacked of the western touch. Yet, despite this western influence, many aspects of their life styles were wholly traditional. For example though they adopted western clothes like 'pant-shirt', they continued to wear 'sherwani' and 'kurta-pajama' which they believed were very graceful and comfortable. Similarly, though the food was served at the dining table and chairs, they many times preferred dinner to be served

on the 'dastarkhwan'. The tradition of serving the male members of the family by women (who then ate after feeding their husbands and sons) seemed to continue. These members resisted women's higher education and believed in the segregation of sexes, restriction on free movement for women and insistence on observance of purdah. Their women folk were rarely involved in the decision making process and complete division of labour based on sex was observed.

The first generation women in these families, however, were literate. Arrangements were made at their parental home to provide them with some education in addition to religious education. British/Anglo Indian governesses or Indian female tutors were appointed at home not only to teach the girls various school subjects but also to learn the culinary and household skills to make them perfect housewives.

This trend of educating girls through governesses served a double purpose. First, it distinguished them from the common girls and secondly permitted girls to acquire knowledge and education within the protected precincts of their home. The purpose of getting them educated was to enable them to perform their traditional roles efficiently. The aim of education was not directed to prepare girls for gainful employment.

The first generation of the Hindu upper income group families, as compared to Muslim families did not show any marked concern or interest for their educational and occupational upliftment as they were mostly illiterate or semi-educated. They were mostly engaged in farming or small scale business and did not show significant signs of change as did the first generation Muslim families. However, some of the first generation Hindus with low level of education, realised the importance of education and non-traditional occupations (other than farming) after they migrated to the urban areas where they were exposed to mass media and a different life setting. It is perhaps under this altered setting, that they showed some signs of change - viz. they encouraged their sons to go in for higher education and take up non-traditional occupations. There appeared to be a definite change in their dress style giving up their traditional attire and dressing up in 'pant-shirt'. It was also observed that as they became older they reverted to their traditional 'dhoti-kurta'.

Like first generation Muslim women, the Hindu women were not allowed to move freely in the society and had to observe the 'ghughat' (covering their head with saree) and rules of avoidance (not to talk directly or sit with in-laws and close relatives) in the presence of close relatives and in-laws. In some cases it was so strict that the wife had to observe veil even in the presence of her

husband. The first generation women, regardless of religious affiliation and economic background, generally accepted male domination and were quite satisfied with their position. Not only did they not complain but happily accepted their situation. They did not seem to be conscious of their subordinate position. Some of the Muslim women were allowed to have a limited say in decision making but male domination was again visible.

In the foregoing chapter results show that the first generation women of lower income group Hindu families were involved in outdoor activities but their activities were limited to performing light farming chores in their own fields. Some of them were allowed to move outside the home without veiling their face and they had almost no say in decision making. Their involvement in outdoor activities seems to be an economic necessity rather than a need to be and feel an independent existence.

The first generation women in the lower income group Muslim families, on the other hand, were confined to their homes. They were not involved in any outdoor activities and were busy with performing their traditional roles of wife and mother within their homes.

Thus, the first generation of lower income group families, regardless of religious affiliation, showed



quite similar life styles. They were born and brought up mostly in rural areas and were mostly illiterate or semi-educated. Their main occupation was farming while some of them were employed as low grade servicemen. They did not have any specific educational and occupational goals nor did they aspire for better educational and occupational opportunities for their children. Some of them, however, later encouraged their children especially sons for pursuing education and to take up non-agrarian employment. The first generation in these lower income group families may be characterised mostly by low level of education, segregation of sexes, male domination, less exposure to outside world, traditional patterns of dress, speech and dietary habits etc. The similarity among first generation members of the low income group with a rural background and lack of education clearly indicated that religious affiliation has no role to play in affecting their life styles.

The second generation members in the low income group showed greater desire for educational upliftment mostly when they were exposed to the urban environment. Despite the similarity among the second generation members, certain differences were observed. For example, in Muslim families second generation women, as against the first generation Muslim women, were encouraged and were involved in gainful employment while this was not observed

in the second generation Hindu families where women were discouraged to take up employment outside the home. Contrary to this, first generation Hindu women (as discussed above) were engaged in outdoor activities working on their own fields and helping their menfolk. This important generational change can perhaps be explained in terms of the growing consciousness that traditional agrarian occupations were 'inferior' and that, once the family moved out of the traditional rural setting, the women no longer be burdened with mundane employment outside home. This reiterates the tradition that a woman's place in the home, and at the same time secures a more 'respectable' position for women, because to 'work' is 'infradig'.

When the researcher probed further into the reasons for not allowing women to work she was informed that the women, too, were not interested in taking up employment and were totally dependent on their husbands and children. They identified themselves with their husband and were not aware of any other identity. Their Muslim counterparts, on the other hand, showed comparatively greater involvement in outdoor activities and decision making process. This is perhaps so, because of their comparatively higher level of education. They not only differed from their second generation Hindu counterparts but also from their first generation Muslim

predecessors. Unlike the first generation, they moved quite freely in society but only with their husband's support and permission. This indicates that despite the apparent 'independence' accorded to women, they continue to be dominated by men. The women disclosed that they would not be able to take up employment without the permission of their husbands. The lower income group second generation Hindu women not only differed from their Muslim counterparts but also from the upper income group Hindu women who enjoyed greater freedom of movement outside home and greater involvement in the decision making process.

The second generation members in the upper income group, regardless of religious affiliation, showed remarkable changes in almost all aspects of life styles - firstly they were highly educated and had a definite inclination towards non-traditional occupation which they associated with prestige and respectability. The traditional pattern of division of labour and decision making, where women were solely responsible for household work and hardly had any say in the process of decision making has changed considerably and now companionship seemed to the order of the day. Despite such changes undercurrents of male domination are clearly indicated especially when it involved women's role in taking final decision and movement outside the home. Some women were

morally forced to continue veiling their face.

The western influence was apparent in the patterns of consumption, language, dress style, dietary habits, exposure to mass media and various sources of entertainment etc. For instance, they owned various modern gadgets and amenities and consumer goods. Their houses were arranged and decorated with fancy furnitures and items and art objects. Special attention was directed towards beautifying the home setting emphasising cleanliness.

The use of 'pant-shirt' replaced use of 'dhoti-kurta' and some women wore night gowns that were never known to their mother-in-laws. They regularly read newspapers and magazines and watched television programmes. Instead of serving meals on floor, meals is served at the dining table. They adopted English as their language of communication. Despite this, Muslim influence on life styles of Hindus was also evident. For example the use of fluent spoken Urdu and desire for non-vegetarian dishes stands out as examples. These Hindu respondents were previously vegetarians as per their religious rules but under the influence of their Muslim friends they changed their dietary habits. Besides these acculturating trends certain traditional patterns were also observed. In contrast to first generation members, they approved widow and divorce remarriages and firmly opposed early marriages and

some of them were ready to accept inter-caste or even inter-religious marriages, yet the preference for setting matrimonial alliances within own religion and caste was clearly visible among them.

The second generation of upper income group Muslim families showed changes from first generation but these changes were not significantly visible as they were between the first and second generation of Hindu families. Changes, however, were remarkable with regard to greater involvement of women's employment outside the home, dress style of women (with the adoption of 'saree' and 'shalwar-suit' and rare use of 'gharara'), decline in the practice of purdah observance, more intimate relations between husband-wife and their children. It should also be pointed out here that a few first generation women in these families took off 'burqa' after settling in urban areas, but only after their husband's death at an older age. The adoption of 'saree' by Muslim women shows the pattern of acculturation similar to that among Hindu men who were influenced by Muslim life styles. It can be safely assumed that while the Hindu males were influenced by Muslim life styles the Muslim women were influenced by Hindu life styles after coming to urban areas.

The second generation members in both the Hindu and Muslim families with similar level of education and income differed from one another. For instance, in most of

the families food is served on dining table while in some families it is served on the floor and even in the families where food is served on table and chairs some members, sometimes preferred to eat on the floor. In most of the families males were more politically aware than females; within the same Hindu family the husband spoke Urdu and English and Urdu fluently while the wife is not much conversant with English (even though she had the same level of education as her husband). Similarly the husband and children preferred non-vegetarian dishes while the lady of the house maintained the tradition of vegetarianism. In another family a conscious distinction was made between boys and girls. The girls had limited say in spouse selection while boys were given full freedom.

The second generation in lower income group families, both Hindu and Muslims, differed in their life styles from their upper income group counterparts. For instance, comparatively their houses were not as well arranged and clean as were those of the upper income group families. Unlike their upper income group counterparts, they did not own more consumer goods, fancy items and luxury items mainly due to their limited income but the desire to do so was not lacking. The Hindus spoke Hindi and maintained the tradition of vegetarianism while the Muslims spoke Urdu and were non-vegetarian. The preference for vegetarian food was observed among some Muslims who

were more health conscious. The meals were served either on floor or 'dastarkhwan'.

Though the western 'pant-shirt' were adopted by males yet their preference for wearing 'kurta-pajama' even outside home was clearly apparent. 'Saree' was not only a common dress for Hindu women (who permanently used 'bindi' and 'sindur') but it was also adopted by Muslim women for formal occasions. Males were more exposed to outside world as they were widely read and more politically aware. Such activities were comparatively lacking in the females of same families. They exhibited marriage patterns similar to those of the upper income group and different from their first generation predecessors. This is evident in their emphasis on choice of spouse selection, approval of widow remarriage and divorcee remarriage and opposition to early marriages. Some of them approved inter-caste marriages in the absence of suitable match within own caste but their resistance to inter-religious marriages was quite marked and greater than their upper income group counterparts.

Thus, these differences in the life styles of members of Hindu and Muslim families can not be accounted for by referring to religious differences. Rather, they are based on the process of socialisation, the environment in which they were brought up, their contacts with friends from different walks of life or economic factors. All said and done, the level of education stands out as a very

important factor for bringing about changes in the life styles of families. It is observed that persons with equal levels of education enjoy similar life styles. This may further be elaborated by highlighting the case studies of the third generation members, who have similar educational levels, urban upbringing but belong to different economic strata. Their life styles were similar to some of the members of first and second generation who had similar educational level. But the similarity among the members of third generation is remarkable and greater than among the first, second and third generation members with similar level of education. However, some differences among third generation members were observable.

The third generation members showed greater educational and occupational aspirations with no gender bias. The emphasis on expected relationship of companionship between husband and wife and emphasis on personal choice in mate-selection, positive attitudes for divorcee and widow remarriages and negative attitudes for early marriages, were quite apparent. Their political awareness and willingness to participate in political activities, their leisure time activities, their dietary habits and dress style, reading habits clearly reflected western influence. They had a great desire to speak English fluently and considered it a desirable asset. Some of them spoke English fluently. Visits to cinema halls and



restaurants was common to most of them. Such changes notwithstanding, some members of the third generation with similar level of education preferred traditional life styles. For instance, some of them did not show any marked interest in reading newspapers and magazines; in taking up employment outside the home; or in visiting cinema halls or restaurants. Some of them were not motivated to participate in political activities.

The similarity between some first generation and third generation members, on some aspects, was also apparent. For instance, some of the first generation members were highly educated and were westernized. Similarly, a few third generation members were also westernized but showed attitudes similar to those of the first generation members with their preference for endogamous marriages and opposition for women's (wives not sisters) employment and their participation in non-traditional activities.

The third generation members in some families seemed to imitate life styles of their parents. For instance, in families where parents, specially fathers, were educated and conversant in English or Urdu, their children, too, were conversant in the same. In families where parents were not conversant in English their children did not feel comfortable in speaking English fluently even though they studied in English medium

schools. Noteworthy here is the change in the third generation Hindu family members where parents, in the second generation, continued the tradition of vegetarianism and liked eating in the traditional manner, while their children visited restaurants specially to enjoy non-vegetarian dishes. They also had a desire to eat on dining table and the family did not own proper dining tables. On the other hand, in another Hindu family where father and children had non-vegetarian dishes and food is served on dining table yet the mother and daughter preferred, sometimes, to eat sitting on the floor. The husband and children ate first and the lady of the house followed.

Among the Muslim families, one family emphasised women's education and career both in the second and third generation. In another family certain traditions perpetuated in all generation for example, prohibiting women from taking up employment. The trend is different from the traditional pattern of division of labour as the men helped the women in household chores but did not allow them to work (like men) outside home. This trend was visible in the third generation as well, where the youthful girls who were docile enough, accepted their parents' verdict. The reasons were quite apparent as the family members felt that any form of labour for wage was inferior and it would be quite unthristkable to allow

women to work as it was a man's duty to provide for the family. Women's employment, it seems, is equated only with monetary gains and thus if women of the family takes up employment then it would be construed that the men are unable to sufficiently provide for the family. This would adversely affect the family's social standing.

Such attitudes are almost in line with what Veblen had to say regarding the leisure class - viz. that for the leisure class conspicuous abstention from labour becomes the conventional mark of superior pecuniary achievement and the conventional index of reputability and conversely, since application to productive labour is a mark of poverty and subjection it becomes inconsistent with a reputable standing in the community.<sup>1</sup>

It becomes obvious that despite the higher educational attainments the women in these families were dominated by men who had the final say and could mould their lives in a manner suited to the family status and respectability. Likewise, girls in the third generation had no definite career plans even though they were willing to go in for higher education. They, too, considered higher education more a virtue in itself and a means for social reputability rather than as a means for a career and an independent existence. Perhaps learning is a

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1. Veblen, Thorstein(1967)The Theory of the Leisure Class' in Reinhard Bendix and S.M. Lipset (eds), Class Status and Power, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. , p. 39.

'vicarious leisure'<sup>2</sup> for the upper income group. It is education for its own sake providing a means for a higher status in society. Interestingly enough, results of the present study show that the educated women in another upper income group Muslim family had a great desire to be gainfully employed as they were secure in social standing, and employment for them meant not only an additional income but also an independent provision for women, thus setting them apart in a higher social standing than the ordinary non-employed women.

For those of the lower income group, education was a means for climbing the social ladder with the help of prestigious occupations. The desire among some lower income group children (boys) to achieve higher levels of education and to run their large scale business stemmed from their resentment they showed against working in a subordinate position. They expressed their desire to attain higher educational levels not to join government service or various professions but rather to efficiently and successfully enhance their entrepreneurship with high economic turnovers. Such affluence would enable them to lead a life of luxury with the accumulation of consumer goods most of which would be ostentatiously exhibited thus clearing the path for a high status recognition in society. Within the same group, yet another set of third generation boys wished to enter professional occupations

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2. Veblen, Thorstein, Ibid, p. 39.

like medical, legal, administrative, managerial services, which they felt would allow them a higher status in society.

The impact of education is quite marked in bringing about changes in the third generation regardless of religious affiliation and economic background. However, differences were also visible mainly between upper and lower income group children and between boys and girls as the lower income group children despite their great desire could not lead the luxury life they aspired for. Similarly boys more frequently visited restaurants than girls with the exception of a few cases. In some families due to limited resources boys were given preference in getting them educated in English medium schools.

Though the third generation members laid much emphasis on similarity of interests between marriage partners and expressed their desire to meet their marriage partners before marriage, yet a few of them were ready for arranged marriages and had no qualms about their ignorance regarding their prospective spouse. Most of them preferred endogamous marriages with the exception of a few who believed that religion and caste were no bar for spouse selection. In some cases though the marriage alliance of some of the members of second generation were not arranged by proxy yet these were endogamous alliances. In other words, caste, family compatibility were necessary even in

non-proxy alliances.

The members of all families, regardless of religious affiliation, economic status or level of education, believed in God/gods. But as far as observance of rituals was concerned they differed from one another. Irregularity of ritual practices was prominent among the third generation. Some case studies, however, revealed that some members of the third generation were very regular in their observance of rituals while some of the members of first generation were found to be very irregular. In one case members of first generation were quite unaware of rituals but the second generation member were consciously and regularly observing rituals.

It is a general perception that with the increase in the level of education religious participation decreases. But such a hypothesis is not supported by the present case studies. Here, some illiterate first generation members do not observe rituals and is not at all conscious about it, whereas, some educated second and third generation members strictly follow their religious observances.

Notwithstanding the above observations, it was also noted that some second generation and most of the third generation members rationalized their religiosity in terms of the physiological and mental discipline and hence considered themselves to be the 'rational' followers of

religion. Religion then, for the present study was projected more through the rituals and not as a way of life as is generally believed.

This is further supported by the fact that the life styles of the families under study in no way reflected any religious restrictions. For example efforts to formally educate children in religious ethic was missing - Dress codes were relaxed as were dietary restrictions. Religion was important only in so far as marriage alliances were concerned and that, too, in many cases appeared to be relaxed. The dress styles of the third generation differed greatly from those of the first and second generations irrespective of religion, or education or economic status. Both boys and girls preferred jeans and the girls freely wore skirts.

While such changes were apparent, it was observed that these were more material than non-material changes. As Srinivas(1931) has pointed out that adoption of western clothes was easily acceptable but the attitudes and values had not changed simultaneously. The case studies show that while material changes are acceptable, the emotional attachment to their traditional value-system remained unchanged.

On the other hand, urban experience was also found to have a great impact in changing or affecting the life styles of people specially with regard to observance of

pardah/veil, desire for consumer goods and modern amenities, sources of entertainment and leisure time activities, exposure to mass media, dress style, dietary habits, language and schooling of third generation. Most of the parents wanted to send their children to English medium schools but some girls, especially in the lower income group Hindu families, were sent to Hindi medium schools because the family could not afford to send all children to the expensive English medium schools. They considered English medium education superior and hence more important for boys as they were bread earners.

Case studies revealed that lower income group families in urban areas showed relatively more traditional life styles as compared to upper income group families; and the lower income group Hindus showed comparatively more traditional life styles than their Muslim counterparts specially with regard to status of women.

The upper income group families possessed larger modern amenities and gadgets with the exception of a few. Yet their children desired to have more luxury items but this desire was quite remarkable among most of the lower income children whose families did not possess the same. These families tried to obtain modern consumer items which their limited income could hardly allow. The few exception showed no interest in consumer items and were 'satisfied' with



their life as it is. Further, people with urban experiences were more aware of the changing needs and demands of society. Therefore, they in order to cope with the changing society tried to change their life styles. Such exposure to outside world and consciousness for bringing about change was not found to be equally present among people hailing from rural areas or among the permanent residents of villages.

From the foregoing discussion it becomes apparent that urban experience also plays an important role in affecting life-styles. Yet we find that under similar urban conditions, in the low income group life style patterns are not uniform among the studied sample. For example, while some aspired or possessed modern amenities others neither owned these possessions nor did they wish to do so. The upper income group too showed such variation. For example while some preferred eating at the dining table others followed the tradition of eating sitting at the floor.

Urban experience did not necessarily have a singular uniform effect. It was observed that when experience coupled with high educational attainment was more effective in bring about change in the position of women. The case study shows that the wife was permitted by her husband to give up 'purdah' and take up gainful

employment much to the dismay and criticisms of other close relatives.

The religious factor has no bearing on various aspects of life styles. For example, educational backwardness & occupational aspirations had no bearing on religion. Both Muslim and Hindu women observed rules of avoidance, lived in nuclear families, encouraged their children to acquire modern education wherever means were possible.

From the foregoing discussion it can be concluded that changes in life styles of individuals were not uniform, while education appeared to be most influential in affecting the life styles of persons, yet, it cannot be said to be the only singular factor. Infact, education, combined with urban experience is more effective in bringing about change in life-styles.

On a comparative basis, differential levels of educational attainment coincided with particular changes on life styles of individuals - similarly life styles among the illiterate group was remarkable. They represented the traditional styles of life in all aspects, ranging from patterns of family and marriage, relationships of avoidance to economic, political and mass media participation etc. In contrast, the highly educated group revealed a similar pattern of changed life styles. The case studies of persons in the upto High School educational category showed changes in some aspects of

their life styles, with greater emphasis on higher educational attainments and subsequent entry into non-traditional occupations. Much stress was laid on western education. This group was more amenable towards education for women and cried for greater freedom for women in giving up the purdah or veil.

But certain reservations were apparent as far as women's employment was concerned.

The role relationships within the family also showed some alterations with the limited participation of the wife in the decision making process, and a relationship of companionship between husband and wife.

The highly educated group had indicated an optimum level of change in most of the aspects of life yet, it was interesting to note that some traditional aspects of life remained unaffected. With higher education and higher economic status, its affectivity was still greater.

This observation leads one to ponder on the complexity of the nature of change. The individual case studies have helped to highlight the importance of such differential effects of independent variable.

The case studies presented herein show that religions affiliation did not play any significant role in either accelerating or retarding change in life styles. No significant differences were observed regarding

division of labour, empowerment of women, or observance of rules of avoidance or educational attainments on basis of religions affiliation.

As hypothesized, more changes were observed in the life style of third generation as compared to the second or first generation.

It was also observed that life styles change within different stages of the life cycle, such changes occurred uniformly (regardless of religious affiliation, economic status or residential experience).

From the foregoing discussion it becomes rather obvious that changes in life styles are in the offing, but such changes are partial, mostly associated with non-material changes such as consumerism. It also stands out that the direction of change in life styles of both the Hindu and the Muslim families is towards the attainment of "Western" styles of life. In almost all cases emphasis was laid on the quality of education imparted to children and families from all rungs of society desired their children to attain education through the english medium. The style of dress, the language that they spoke or desired to speak with their mother tongue was English/western. The consumption patterns, the cinema and restaurant culture are all indicative of the western influence. In these circumstances, the third generation

desired all the western material culture but lagged behind in inculcating the non-material culture. This is evident from the boys' attitude towards their sisters' or prospective wives' empowerment. Their adherence to certain traditional values such as male authority and male dominance also indicates the laxity in non-material cultural values.

The second generation too showed differential changes which appeared to be more in terms of adjusting themselves to the changing environment and the growing newer need of an urban - industrial society.

The traditional family structure was resilient enough to sustain changes thrust on its members, without breaking down. The trend was toward an egalitarian relationship between husband and wife and role relationships akin to those found in complex societies. The marriage patterns remained somewhat unchanged with emphasis on caste endogamy. No definite pattern of change was observed in political awareness or participation which by and large remained the domain of the males.

Similarly the family structure while showing some changes in role relationship continues to remain intact because of the traditional value system which its members uphold. In the case studies presented here, some overt

changes have been observed - e.g. in some cases an egalitarian relationship between husband and wife is reported thus giving the wife an equal chance to exercise some of her rights but her position in the family structure remained unchanged. That is to say that while her relationship with her husband and children changed, she remained in a subordinate position to her husband.

Due to her socialization she herself feels the necessity of taking the burden of her wifely duties and is quite unconscious of this. Infact, she includes these in her "duties".

Again, even though she is educated she must "seek" her husband's permission to take up employment outside the home or else, it would be impossible for her to work without destroying her family relations. Thus it becomes clear that despite the overt changes in her position, the underlying traditional values continue to rule the day.

This is similarly true for rules of marriage which appear to have changed, but only as far as 'Customs' are concerned, so from a proxy made alliance we have a selection by personal choice but the norms and values of endogamous alliances remains intact. The attitudes towards widow/divorcee remarriage are favourable but in no

instance such an alliance would be permissible in the respondent's own family.

All forms of leisure and political activities remained the strong hold of men and women either by their own choice or those of their parents/husbands had no part to play. Thus, all cinema and restaurant entertainment and political participation remained mostly within the man's world specially of younger generation.

So to conclude it is reiterated that Hindu and Muslim families hailing from high educational level, high economic status and urban experience, experienced changes in life styles. These changes were not equally distributed in all spheres of their interaction and thus show continuity of the traditional cultural values interwoven sparsely through the changing life styles. Much of the pattern of change was the emulation of the life styles of the western world. This indicates the strong underlying 'western' influence which continues to rule the Indian culture even after the exit of the Britishers fifty years ago. The case studies clearly reveal that those less fortunate educated persons aspire for mobility to the higher echelons of society through English medium education.

The present study was aimed at assessing the role of education in bringing about changes in the life styles of Hindu and Muslim families residing in Aligarh.

The theoretical model for this investigation was developed keeping in view certain patterns of life styles as described by Veblen( 1931 ) Weber ( 1946 ) Ginzberg ( 1966 ) and Srinivas (1962 ).

The study has enabled us to understand the changes that have taken place in the life styles of various Hindu and Muslim families. It has brought into focus the fact that education by itself is not sufficient to bring about changes. Urban experience and economic status combined with education is far more conducive to change.

This study is unique in its approach not only because it is a maiden attempt to undertake a comparative study of Hindu and Muslim families, but also to gain insight into the life styles of both men and women at the inter generational level.

The case study method enabled the researcher to make an indepth study of the currents and under currents involved in moulding the lives of both men and women as well as their male and female children.

More studies of this nature would enable us to gain important insights into various socio-psychological processes of change.



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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

## INTERVIEW GUIDE

### EDUCATION AND CHANGING LIFE STYLES : A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HINDU AND MUSLIM FAMILIES OF ALIGALRH

#### PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

1. Name : \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age : \_\_\_\_\_
3. Sex : \_\_\_\_\_
4. Education : \_\_\_\_\_
5. Occupation : \_\_\_\_\_
6. Monthly Income : \_\_\_\_\_
7. Marital Status : \_\_\_\_\_
8. Rural/Urban : \_\_\_\_\_
9. Religion : \_\_\_\_\_
10. Caste : \_\_\_\_\_
11. Family structure - Joint/Nuclear \_\_\_\_\_
12. Number of Family members \_\_\_\_\_
13. Number of family members who are earning \_\_\_\_\_
14. Total monthly family income : \_\_\_\_\_
15. Birth Place : \_\_\_\_\_
16. Residence during High School \_\_\_\_\_
17. Residence after completing High School and while pursuing higher education \_\_\_\_\_
18. Work Place : \_\_\_\_\_

## GUIDELINE FOR OTHER PERTINENT INFORMATION

### EDUCATION

1. Kind/type of education received -
  - i) Religious    ii) Formal    iii) Both    iv) Illiterate
2. Highest level of education received -
3. Medium of instruction :
  - i) At school level    ii) During High School
  - iii) At graduate level,    iv) At higher level
4. Purpose of going in for higher education -
5. Any educational and occupational goals -
6. Effect of parents' educational status -
7. Factors that significantly affected educational pursuit-
8. Possibility of taking up a job after schooling -
9. Problems involved in combining marriage and career -
10. Ways in which formal education affected way of life -
11. Ways in which lack of education affected way of life -

### OCCUPATION

12. Main Occupation -
13. Effect of life circumstances of parents, like level of education, occupation, economic status, health etc., on occupational goals and plans -
14. Effect, if any, of parental (specially mothers) employment -
15. Attitudes of parents towards women's education and employment and its effect -

16. Effect of husband's/wife's life circumstances on occupational goals -
17. Effect of residential experiences on occupational goals -
18. The most and least gratifying effect of gainful employment -
19. The most and least gratifying effect of home making -
20. Preferential occupation -
21. Reasons, if any, for seeking alternative type of employment -
22. Any discrimination in parent's attitudes while preferring different occupations for male and female children -
23. Effect of marriage on freedom to work outside home -
24. Attitudes of parents/husband's/in-laws towards gainful employment
25. Observance of purdah/veil while working outside home or at work place.

#### MARRIAGE

26. Pattern of selecting marriage partner -
27. Parental influence on selection of marriage partner -
28. Acquaintance with prospective spouse -
29. Ideal age at marriage -
30. Respondent's age at marriage -
31. Effect of important factors that affected selection of spouse.

- 32. Criteria for selecting marriage partner -
- 33. Expected marriage patterns in the family -
- 34. Changes in marriage patterns from past to present -
- 35. Cases of child marriages/widow remarriages/divorce remarriages/inter-caste marriage /inter-religious marriages in the family -
- 36. Approval or disapproval for above mentioned marriages -
- 37. Effect of marriage, if any, on present life -

#### RELIGIOSITY AND OBSERVANCE OF TRADITIONS

- 38. Patterns of ritual observances -
- 39. Frequency of visits to temple/mosque -
- 40. Observance of prayers/vrat/roza -
- 41. Belief in giving 'zakat' or 'daan' -
- 42. Frequency of reciting Holy books -
- 43. Desire for pilgrimage -
- 44. Effect of parental/spouse's/ in-law's actions and observances -
- 45. Attendance to religious meeting -
- 46. Organising religious meetings at home -
- 47. Belief in power of 'mannat' -
- 48. Frequency of visits to Holy shrines -
- 49. Effect of parental/spouse's/in-laws religiosity on respondents -
- 50. Observance of purdah/Veil of respondent -
- 51. Reasons for observing purdah/veil -



52. Effect of parental/spouse's/in-law's education on purdah/veil -

53. Pattern of purdah observance -

#### AUTHORITY STRUCTURE AND FAMILY NETWORK

54. Relationship between : spouses, parents-children -

55. Opposition to children's wishes by parents -

56. Opposition by children against parent's decision -

57. Nature of relationship with children -

58. Various role responsibilities -

59. Nature of control on family income -

60. Nature of control exercised by spouse on finance -

61. Empowerment of women/men/children -

62. Nature of mutual help in household duties -

63. Effect of women's employment on decision making process -

#### PATTERNS OF CONSUMPTION

64. Expenditure on :

i) Food ii) Clothing iii) Housing iv) Education

v) Decorating home vi) Newspapers and magazines

vii) Recreation viii) Consumer goods ix) Others

65. Ownership of house -

66. Ownership of consumer goods and luxury items -

67. Leisure time activities -

68. Sources of entertainment -

69. Visits to cinema halls and restaurants -

70. Reading habits -

- 71. Desire to read newspapers and magazines in absence of personal subscription -
- 72. Interest in television programmes-
- 73. Favourite television programmes -
- 74. Language used as a means of communication -
- 75. Dress style of men/women/children on formal/informal occasions and at home -
- 76. Use of cosmetics and jewellery -
- 77. Food habits -
- 78. Preference for Vegetarian/non-vegetarian dishes -

#### POLITICAL AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION

- 79. Interest in and discussion of political affairs -
- 80. Exposure to various sources of media -
- 81. Membership of any political party -
- 82. Organising political meetings -
- 83. Interest in exercising franchise -
- 84. Decision regarding exercising the right to vote.

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